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## THE BRITISH EMANCIPATED COLONIES.

A Blue Book, containing official reports relative to the emancipated population of the British colonies, has recently been laid before Parliament, from which we propose to make extracts, with a view of showing their condition and prospects, and the necessity which yet remains of watching over their interests. It is to be regretted that the Government do not insist upon having the returns drawn up on some uniform principle; for it now happens that instead of having a well-ordered arrangement of facts, with observations subjoined of a general nature, we have, in too many instances, a set of dissertations, which, however much they may display the ability of the functionaries who draw them up, are practically of little value. We would earnestly recommend the Reports furnished the French Government by their agents residing abroad, as models which might be followed with advantage. We want facts, but instead of them we are too frequently put off with mere opinions.

### JAMAICA.

#### WAGES AND LABOUR.

*Vere.*—"I cannot agree that the price of labour has ever been extravagant, except in regard to some arbitrary standard of moderation fixed by the planters themselves, or in comparison to the frugal wants of the Negro labourer. At its highest rate labour has never been more than 1s. 6d. per day; and work done at that rate, or by the job, has always been done for one half the same work would have cost, on being performed by a jobbing gang during the apprenticeship."

*St. Dorothy.*—"The rate of wages, averaging task-work, day-labour, crop-work, all kinds, for a day's work, is 1s."

*St. Ann.*—"The rates of rent and labour remain as last advised, and a better understanding appears to prevail generally among the employers and employed." *Seville.*—"On one of the best conducted estates in this parish, the following is returned by the manager as the rate of wages paid by him:—"To tenants, if able hands, 1s. 6d. per day; persons residing on the estates (not tenants), if able hands, 1s. 3d.; strangers and others, 1s.: boys and girls, 6d to 9d; tradesmen, 2s. to 2s. 6d. per day. The following are the rates paid to parties engaged in the manufacture. Cutting canes, per cart load, 1s.; carting the same, about 3d.; grinding canes, per pan of 350 gallons, 3d.; and boiling liquor, 1s. 6d. per day, of ten hours, and 1½d. for every extra hour; potting, per hogshead, 1s. The rent charged on this estate, on an annual tenancy, with six months' notice on either side, is 2s. 6d. per week, payable weekly."

*Morant Bay.*—"The rates of wages remain as heretofore."

*St. Thomas in the East.*—"Labour in this division of the district (the Eastern) appears to be almost entirely performed by the task or job, and generally procured without much difficulty. In this manner, the labourer generally earns from 2s. to 3s. per day, and I should think not less than 1s. 6d."

*Port Royal.*—"Wages continue at the same rate; from 10s. to 12s. per acre is given for cleaning the fields, and about the same for pruning; in picking coffee, 1s. per bushel, but when they find it difficult to procure a bushel, then they are paid at the rate of 1s. 6d.; in picking coffee on table for market, 100lbs. is the task for 1s.; when the people are employed on day labour, they are paid from 1s. to 1s. 6d. Masons and carpenters earn from 2s. to 2s. 6d. per day; sawyers are paid £9 12s. per 1,000 feet for hard wood, and £7 4s. for cedar."

*St. David's.*—"The price of labour remains the same, but generally performed by job."

*St. Elizabeth.*—"It is with much pleasure I have to report that the prospect of a crop is far more favourable in this district, than it has been for some years past, and that the cultivation and manufacture of the produce has been proceeding in all its stages, at a reduced rate of wages, without any scarcity of labour."

*St. John's.*—"I venture to assert, that in a very short time the sugar

and rum crops will attain the full average quantity, while the cost of production will be very considerably diminished."

*St. Mary.*—"Wages average from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. per day, for eight hours' labour; in the greater part of the parish the labourers will not work for less than 1s. 6d. per diem."

*Montego Bay.*—"The rise in the price of produce last year, and the encouragement held out by the reduction of duties, has at the same time induced the proprietors to extend their cane cultivation; and the consequence has been, that although more labourers are permanently at work, the price of labour has not diminished; and in cases where labour is paid for by the day, the rate of hire may be generally stated at 1s. 6d.; but, in point of fact, there is very little day labour in the parish, task-work being resorted to whenever practicable."

To the foregoing extracts from the Reports of the stipendiary magistracy, and they are all that we can find upon the subject relating to Jamaica, in the official Reports before us, we append some remarks from the general summary of the superintendent stipendiary magistrate on the subject of labour, and the causes which have affected it, since the period of emancipation. Mr. Hill after having shown that "there was no necessity for making the change attendant on the abolition of slavery include in it any other alteration than the wages of labour for the coercion of slavery," points out the true ground of the evils which are now felt and complained of. He says, "By the miscalculating policy of ejecting the emancipated slaves from their old tenements, the great body of the labourers in this colony became owners of their own cottages and gardens, and were rendered independent of the planters' wages, to the extent to which wages would have represented rent." But more than this, the feelings engendered by the oppressive acts of the planters, not only led to the purchase of innumerable freeholds, but to distrust and alienation; so that thenceforth the planter was not served until the Negro had first served himself. Many, perhaps all, the difficulties created by this unwise policy, might have been obviated, had small allotments on the plantations been sold to the labourers when slavery was abolished. We have never met with an intelligent planter who denied this, and who does not now lament his want of temper and foresight in dealing with the people. Mr. Hill says:—

"Agricultural labour in the preparatory processes for cultivation, is conducted at present in the colony with unprecedented economy. Without looking more closely into the present plantation tillage than a passing observation in travelling, it is evident that more efficiency as well as more economy is combined with cultivation by the plough, than in the old resource of hand labour by the hoe. Where the land was recently broken up, it presented what seemed to my eyes an aspect of systematic and equal husbandry over extensive surfaces never seen heretofore, and where the plough was in the field, the single team, though worked with an extraordinary number of oxen, reduced the amount of human labour to some three or four hands, when thirty or forty would hardly have sufficed formerly.

"In all the lowland districts, in the plains and gently undulating lands by the sea-board, the essential requisite of cheap husbandry, the plough, is in general use. Other expedients for cheap tillage by machinery are combined with general management, and it is easy to perceive that prodigious advantage is gained in the resort to implemental over hand-labour, by the effectual way in which the whole surface is now broken up and the manures are combined with the soil. The slow process of the dung-basket was observed in some places not to be abandoned, but this was exclusively confined to the fields of ratooning canes, where probably hereafter hand-barrows and cleaning and weeding ploughs acted upon by one horse, to work between the narrow rows of vegetating stools, will be of general application instead.

"The sugar estates in the interior, less favourably situated for a resort to implemental husbandry, are still cultivated under processes expensive



with regard to wages. Very little economy of labour can be obtained where physical difficulties interpose to the use of any implement but the hoe. The natural fertility of some of these remote plantations is great; this, however, and their command of more favourable seasons, are not commensurate advantages; but they have at their disposal more available hands, by being situated in the vicinity of settlements formed by the displaced plantation slaves in the only or nearest localities where they could purchase allotments. This circumstance explains some very curious anomalies respecting, not alone profitable, but possible, cultivation, and points out the true cause of a deficiency of labour, where every contingency with the planter is favourable for continuing the active pursuits of industry."

Mr. Hill admits that those who attribute the alleged want of labour to want of punctuality in the payment of wages, "are no doubt able to produce instances enough in which this breach of faith has operated disastrously;" yet maintains that the principal cause is to be found in the cottar system, to which we have called attention. "The complaint of want of labour is particular, certainly, but," he adds, "it is nevertheless true that deficiency of labour in sugar districts is general, also; it is not, however, universal."

It is clearly, however, not a want of labour for the ordinary occupations of estates that is complained of any where, but the want created by the exigencies of the crop season. This is what is meant by continuous labour. It is not unfrequently the case that planters, at certain parts of the year, discharge from fifty to 100 labourers, which he cannot, frequently, collect together again when he wants them. Mr. Hill alludes to this point in the following terms:—

"Another source of the new difficulties with which the planter has to contend arises from his own arrangements in the economy of labour. One of the heavy incumbrances of the slave system was the dead weight of expenditure in the maintenance of a large body of labourers. To have them available when a multitude was wanted, they were subsisted and employed at times when their labour was little profitable. Of this dead weight the planter has disencumbered himself in emancipation. Nothing is so little like what it means as the cry for continuous labour. Continuous labour, properly speaking, would mean an arrangement in which the working population was to depend wholly on wages for subsistence. If they must always seek employment, and unremittingly pursue it, the planter must be always ready to supply it, and to find it profitable to give it them. Now this approach to the old state of things is quite at variance with the economy which finds scientific expedients of agriculture and implemental husbandry a more efficient and a more profitable resort. The planter, in the new order of things, makes human labour not the primary, but the secondary object of his economy, and when it is indispensable to him, he can neither obtain it in sufficient quantity, nor with sufficient steadiness for a stated, or rather we would add, for a limited period of time. This is what is meant by a want of continuous labour."

Turning, however, from Mr. Hill to such particular planters and stipendiary magistrates as have given their opinion on the supply of labour, we find the following statements in the Reports before us. Mr. Charles Royes, the manager of the *Seville* estate, in the parish of St. Ann, observes:—"A sufficient supply of labour is generally obtainable, and the people are usually inclined to do fair work; disputes occasionally occur, but are easily settled; and if the people at times do a bad day's work, rather than lose their pay, or be dismissed, they give an extra hour or so to make it up." But this gentleman considered "regular weekly payments, and at convenient periods, to the people," to be "of first moment."

From Mr. Stipendiary Magistrate Daly's report we make the following extract:—

"The sugar crops for the present year are almost completed throughout the district, and generally have considerably exceeded those of many years past. Eight of the principal estates in the Plantain Garden river division have made, taking an average, 340 hhds. of sugar each, and about half that number of puncheons of rum; the other smaller estates have made the usual average crops. In this district, where so large a quantity of produce has been manufactured, it is a remarkable fact, that disputes between managers and labourers have been of very rare occurrence, which may be taken as a proof of the influence capital has over labour. On most of these estates, I believe, too, that rents have been regularly exacted, and the instances of parties being summoned for rent in this division of the district are very few indeed; which, I presume, may also be considered a proof that the Negro labourer is honest in his dealings with his landlord, when the latter is punctual in his own payments. These estates chiefly belong to wealthy English capitalists."

Mr. Daly's district is St. Thomas in the East. In the report of

Mr. (S. M.) Jackson, in the parish of St. John, will be found the following statement:—

"Notwithstanding the occasional murmurings about labour, which, for immigration purposes, are still indulged in by some of the planters, my opinion remains unaltered, that *where good faith is maintained, and regular payments established*, the supply of labour is generally equal to the demand, and the price by no means exorbitant."

By way of appendix to this abstract on the subject of wages and labour, we give the following letters, addressed to Mr. (S. M.) Pryce, from experienced men. They are annexed to his report:—

"Royal Mail Steam Company's Office,  
Kingston, 30 November, 1845.

"SIR,—I have much pleasure in complying with your request, and to state that I have been in charge here for the last two years, and that I find a great improvement in the working of the labourers employed on these premises; latterly I can procure plenty of able-bodied men. The wages I give vary from 1s. 6d., 1s. 9d., to 2s. per day, according to the nature of the work to be performed; for this latter sum I expect them to work as hard and as fast as they can, from 6 A.M., till 6 P.M., or twelve hours (including half an hour for breakfast, and one hour for dinner).

"The average weight of coal these men carry on such occasions, on board the steamers, in baskets, is three tons, but often three tons and a half, per day, a distance of about 400 feet, or about nine miles: and the same distance back with the empty basket.

"After the first few months, I have experienced no difficulty in managing the blacks; system, and firmness in turning off those who did not work, and encouraging those that did, together with punctual and frequent payments, I find best; and paying in such money as there can be no doubt as to its value.

"Fifty or sixty men have been paid on a Saturday evening in a quarter of an hour, without a word.

"I have not had occasion to take any of these men to the magistrates, although the police-office is within 300 yards.

"I am speaking only to their capabilities of working, and their behaviour on these premises; they have worked cheerfully by night, when I required them, and on Sundays, when absolutely necessary, at double wages.

"I am, &c.

(Signed)

"Samuel Pryce, Esquire,  
Stipendiary Magistrate, &c. &c. &c.

"R. CURRIER,  
Agent and Superintendent,  
R. M. S. C."

"Jamaica Railway Company, Kingston,  
3 December, 1845.

"SIR,—In complying with your request, it gives me infinite pleasure to be able to bear testimony to the willingness of the Negro to give a fair day's labour for a fair day's wages. I have had an average number of 500 people at work on the railroads for the past twelve months, and I have never had occasion, either as complainant or defendant, to appear before the magistrates. My firm opinion is, that by *regular* payments, you may command their continuous labour.

"Our hours of work are from six o'clock A.M., to five o'clock P.M., allowing an hour at mid-day for breakfast.

"I have seldom or ever had to call twice for volunteers for night work; and I would not fear, at an hour's notice, wanting a hundred men for that description of labour. Our pay varies from 1s. to 2s. per day, according to the strength of the man. An *unwilling* one I would not have about the works.

"Of their civility and good humour it is scarcely necessary for me to mention; and I have no hesitation in asserting that they are the most easily managed people in the world.

"It will give me pleasure at any time to reply to any queries you may wish to make on this, to me, very interesting subject.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed)

"DAVID SMITH."

"Samuel Pryce, Esq.,

"Stipendiary Magistrate, &c. &c. &c.

#### RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

The following abridgment from Mr. Hill's report will show the results which have flowed from the abolition of slavery, where the conditions have been favourable to the development of character:—

"Midway between Falmouth and Rio Bueno, a large free village has been formed in a locality convenient for the sugar estates on that line of road. The settlements are so thick set on the hillside and along the vale through which the road passes, that it has altogether a town-like aspect. Large substantial stores have been erected; the commercial class are mingled with the agricultural; the agricultural have taken a certain improved tone from the commercial, so that, although the inhabitants of this village, who are not shopkeepers, are plantation labourers, the generality of the well-built cottages within garden-grounds assume an appearance of associated comfort and intercourse much more characteristic



of a town than a village. An extensive mission establishment of the Wesleyans, with large school-house in the centre of the settlement, increases the prevailing air. Only half of the concentration in this spot is seen from the road. The highway passes through what is called Duncans, but the village of Kettering adjoins it, a settlement equally extensive, and consisting of members of the Baptist community. Previous to the abolition of slavery, Duncans comprised some three or four dwellings, one wayside shop, and the post-office. It has now drawn within itself all the prædial labourers of the neighbourhood.

"Ascending the road, traversing the mountains between St. Ann's Bay and Spanish Town, a considerable village of plantation labourers occurs as soon as the summit of the intervening elevation is gained, at a place called Liberty-hill. There are several interesting features in this upland journey. The road skirts along cliffs of a very excellent calcareous free-stone, by the edge of a ravine, in which some exceeding good cottages with adjacent gardens have been erected. The place looks uninviting, but the demand for locations had rendered all available lands marketable, and these niggardly spots found purchasers. When the summit of the mountain was set out in small settlements, it could scarcely fail of still more eager competitors for allotments. The cottages of these settlers are of a very humble description generally, and the easy access to the town of St. Ann's has precluded any but the humblest class of retailers from opening trade among the villagers. The soil is poor and hungry, but the sugar plantations from the sea-board stretch upward through a low rich valley into the heart of these mountains, and the settlers of Liberty-hill look down immediately upon fields in which they can earn wages with uninterrupted constancy through several months of the year; besides, the mountains hereabout are clothed profusely with groves of the pimento spice, the gathering of which at the proper season yearly supplies very congenial occupation for the cottager's wife and children. The sugar planters of this district do not complain of a deficiency of labour at any time, but when the pimento season is a better attraction than plantation work, they can then only insure their due quantity of labour by the duration of their contracts. The prizes which the St. Ann's Agricultural Society has awarded for the best economy in plantation management, by which sugar is shown to be grown and manufactured at an exceeding moderate outlay for labour, exhibit the supply in this district, from a proximity to a market for work, to be such as to enable them to command adequate labour at all times, and at a very manageable cost. Implemental husbandry universally prevails here. The arable processes are carried on cheaply, and the available labour that this gives the sugar planter is perceptible in the very precise and well-kept condition of the lowland hedgerows, and in the very extensive cane fields through which implemental tillage prevails.

We may, upon the whole, contemplate with unmitigated satisfaction a large body of men, drawn together by a common sentiment of forethought and prudence, and acting under a common effort to better their individual condition, as they appear in such a township as Duncans. We see them passing from an unsettled state to that of a settled population, fixed by the possession of property, and within the obligation of duties that impose upon them the daily necessities of industry. We find them acted upon by the commercial spirit, and we observe their moral and intellectual dispositions under the guidance of religious instruction. We may presume a fair external state to be existing where the inward man is subjected to such tuition and regulation. They are under the influence of sentiments and feelings, which, while they expand their wants and relations, moderate their desires and actions. There is not, however, an equal guarantee for the satisfactory advancement of similar aggregations of the peasantry where these elements of restraint and guidance are wanting. In the more remote villages, where there are neither places of worship, nor school-houses, nor any influence of good principles which would mould the little world over which it exercises a salutary sway into its own nature, we may not alone fear the absence of those conditions essential to improvement, but the presence of those which lead to deterioration of character.

Whatever may be the character of the evils incident to aggregations of the people in remote communities, unmixed with persons of character or consideration, it may be said that they cannot be greater than those which attended the old plantation villages, when the authority and example of the overseer's house in a less degree acted favourably on their sentiments and feelings. It may be said that whatever detracted from their improvement under the former state of things, would still have attended the resort to any schemes to preserve the inhabitants of the old villages within the ascendancy of the plantation, by rendering them the freeholders of their own tenements. Undoubtedly it is the selfish and sensual character which predominates in slave institutions, but the law which emancipated the slave, placed the interest as well as the authority of the master, and of those who were the delegates of that authority, under the influence of motives no longer selfish, but benevolent. Nothing can be more erroneous than the supposition that the overseer's house, as well as the Negro's cottage, has not had its social as well as its political change. Few countries will exhibit a body of persons devoted to pursuits, like those of the details of husbandry, which we usually do not

consider of a refining tendency, more respectable and intelligent than the present overseers of the colony. Systems of agriculture are systems of science. Economy in plantation management must depend on the experimental arts. No man can now be truly useful on a plantation who does not bring sound judgment and good sense, as well as activity, to his duties. \* \* \* \* Prudence is moral, as well as economical. Public opinion has asserted its authority against any relations of convenience; and marriage, the source of so many virtues, and the prevention of so many disorders, exhibits its propriety and confers its comforts and consolations generally on the overseer's dwelling; I say generally, for I admit that a qualified expression is necessary."

#### CRIME.

The following sensible remarks on this important subject will show how it comes to pass, that, under a state of freedom, there appears to be a larger amount of crime, than under the state of slavery.

"We hear it said that crime has increased. As this remark has been made at every gaol-delivery for the last six years, it must be intended to mean, that the restraints on idleness and dishonesty, imposed by slavery, have not been substituted by the better moral and physical circumstances of freedom; that would be to say, that the propensity to crime is now what it always was. But slavery left an incurable demoralization on the community, the traces of which are made more manifest than formerly; and anything less resistless than the passing away of the existing generation will scarcely obliterate it. This, at worst, makes matters stationary. If the facts on which the opinion of an increase is founded be the calendar of offences brought before tribunals which only since the abolition of slavery, take cognizance of all crimes and misdemeanors, the reasoning is a fallacy. The domestic authority of the slave-master was a magisterial authority. Plantation discipline was a police, not less active than any now existing; but justice regarded crimes and offences as circumstances in which society was less concerned than private interests. The individual injured increased his loss, if he so dealt with the offender that he deprived himself of his labour for a time. An appeal to the tribunals would have always included abstraction of work from the master, both before trial, and after conviction and punishment. None but robberies in which some other person than the owner of the delinquent slave was despoiled, or acts in which there occurred death or atrocious violence, came before the courts; a comparison, therefore, between the calendars in slavery and freedom is a record of the publicly tried offences against the unknown sum-total of crimes committed; the unknown sum of freedom being the undetected crimes only, and those of slavery the offences punished under domestic authority, where no magistrate was appealed to, and where no court published and recorded the convictions. This may seem only specious reasoning, but it is demonstrable truth. Interest preserves the same activity, but the guilty are brought before very different tribunals; what was private punishment, is now public justice."—*Par. Papers*, No. 691—1, 1846, p.p. 1—65.

We must reserve our analysis of the Reports in relation to British Guiana, Trinidad, and other West India Colonies until our next.

#### BRITISH INDIA.

[The following Memorial was presented by a Deputation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, who waited on Sir J. C. Hobhouse, on the 29th day of January last. Sir John kindly promised to use every exertion to accomplish the object desired.]

TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR J. C. HOBHOUSE,  
PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF CONTROL, &c.,

SIR,—The abolition of slavery throughout the entire possessions of the Honourable the East India Company, in Hindostan, was an event hailed with the sincerest satisfaction by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, inasmuch as it secured the right of personal freedom, and protection in the full enjoyment of that right, to millions of slaves, who otherwise would have continued the property of their masters, and would have been subjected to all the oppressive incidents connected with that degrading relation. But, Sir, the satisfaction which the Committee felt when the great law of Indian emancipation was proclaimed, has been moderated by the knowledge of the fact, that in many large and important districts, large bodies of emancipated slaves are yet ignorant of their rights; and are, therefore, still held and used as slaves by their former owners.

In consequence of information received direct from India, on this point, the Committee requested, and were permitted to have an interview with the Right Hon. the Lord Ripon, when in office, and were assured by him, that every means should be taken to give the requisite information in relation to the abolition of slavery, in the various languages of the people of British India, through the appropriate and usual channels.



The Committee brought no complaint, either against the authorities in India; or any parties at home, of previous neglect of duty in this particular, for they were too well aware of the difficulty of conveying to remote districts, inadequately supplied with European functionaries, the fact, that slavery was abolished; and that henceforth the liberated bondsmen were free from the obligations to service by which they had been formerly bound.

One of the great objects which the Committee hoped to see realized, by a *bona fide* emancipation of slaves within the British territories in India, was, that the native Princes and Rajahs, under British protection and influence, would be induced to follow the noble example set them by this country. As yet, however, the Committee have not learned that one of these princes have emancipated the slaves under his dominion. The Committee have, therefore, respectfully to ask, that Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to give such instructions to the authorities in India, as shall lead them, forthwith, to appeal to these high personages in behalf of the freedom of their oppressed subjects; and from the information with which the Committee have been favoured, they cherish the hope that the best results would follow.

The Committee beg, Sir, to call your attention to the annexed paper, which gives an account of the population of Travancore. It will be found to describe not only the condition of the slaves within the Rajah's territories, but also that of some of the Hill Tribes, which appears to be extremely wretched. The Committee regret that the document is not perfect in all its parts; yet it is sufficiently precise in relation to the degraded and suffering condition of the servile population, as to warrant the appeal now made to the government, to interpose its kind offices in their behalf.

Deeply interested as the Committee have been, for many years past, in promoting the overthrow of slavery in every part of the British dominions, and in seeking its abolition throughout the world, they have watched, with more than ordinary attention, the development of the resources of British India by free labour, for they have shared the conviction with many others, who have carefully studied the subject, that if the burdens which now press on the industry of that important country, were fully removed, and the tenures by which lands are held, were put upon a more equitable footing; and these changes were combined with the abolition of all internal transit dues, the improvement of its roads and canals, and the erection of such public works as experience has shown to be absolutely necessary, for the benefit of the country, not only would the means of the government be greatly increased thereby, and a vast stimulus be given to industrial and commercial operations, but that slavery in the United States, the Brazils, and the Spanish Colonies, would receive its greatest discouragement, and the African slave trade its surest check. As a further exposition of the views of the Committee on this important subject, they beg permission to lay before you a copy of a document which they had the honour to submit to Lord Ripon, when in office.

I have now, Sir, on behalf of the Committee, to solicit you to permit a deputation of its members to wait on you, in reference to the various points briefly adverted to in this communication.

I have the honour to be,

SIR, your obedient Servant,

Office of the British & Foreign  
Anti-Slavery Society.  
27, New Broad-street, January, 1847.

JOHN SCOBLE, *Secretary*.

THE FOLLOWING IS AN ABSTRACT OF THE PAPER PRESENTED  
TO SIR J. C. HOBHOUSE, ON THE CONDITION OF THE SERVILE  
CLASSES OF THE COUNTRIES OF TRAVANCORE AND COCHIN.

**Chogamars.** To the south this class is known as Shanars, to the north as Tears, they are found throughout the country, but particularly along the coast, performing the chief horticultural labours of the cocoa nut plantations, and other branches of husbandry. Martyrs to the destination of castes, the higher orders treat them with supercilious scorn, and being too poor to invite their rapacity, they hold them in bondage. Their position has been somewhat improved of late years, through the repeal of an oppressive poll-tax, from which the lowest poverty could not exempt. They lead a miserable existence, their toil ensuring them no more than a hut, affording them but insufficient shelter, and enabling them to subsist, or rather starve, throughout the year on roots and fish. Amongst so large a population, there will necessarily be some variation in circumstances, but the number of those who are raised in the scale of enjoyment, is but very limited.

They are generally harmless and tractable, and if deserving the charge of timid pusillanimity, it must be ascribed to the state of vassalage in which they have been so long held.

**Rannans and Pancins.** They are divisions of the Eeloevan tribes, the former derive the appellation from the science of divination, which some of their tribe profess. Agriculture is their ordinary pursuit.

**Hill Tribes.** Influenced by all the prejudices of caste, they are divided into several distinct tribes, who have little intercourse with each other. Though living in clans, they know little of that attachment which usually flows from such an association. Most of them owe general allegiance to the Rajahs of Pandulum and Puniatu. They gain their subsistence chiefly from the spontaneous produce of the wilderness, which, with the spoils of wolves, yields a precarious addition. Their huts are usually erected on rocks, or trees, as a security against tigers and elephants.

**Vaishwans.** They are a miserable puny race, vitiated by the use of opium. They are usually engaged in the timber department.

**Oorallays.** Their number is limited, some belong to the Circar, and are placed under a Ryelachey, or manager, who rarely fails to make the most of his authority over them; they were, at a remoter date, the particular property of the Alwanchayree Trumbacul.

**Predial Slaves.** Those subject to predial bondage are known under the name of Cheramukkul (children of slavery). Their name is connected with everything revolting: they are shunned as if infected with the plague, the higher class viewing their presence with a mixture of alarm and indignation, and even towns and markets would be considered as defiled by their approach. They are attached to the glebe. In absolute value, they are far below the cattle with which they are herded, and are held in less estimation. They are treated with a capricious indifference, or rigor, by the Nairs, on the one hand, on account of their caste, and by the Christians on the other, on account of their dejected condition. They are held by various tenures, and the reluctance of their masters finally to dispose of them is so great, that the most pressing necessities can alone compel them to do it; they are most frequently mortgaged, or held in punnum (pledge), that is, the owner receives the full value, but retains the power of recalling the purchase, tenures but little adapted to improve the situation of the slave, whose services being received as equivalent to interest, holds out an inducement to urge his labours, and diminish his comfort.

A considerable number belong to government, to whom they escheat in default of heirs, and are employed on Circarlands, and rented out to Ryots, a male being rated at about two rupees annually, the female less than this amount. Their value rises from six to ten pagodas. In earlier times the murder of a slave was scarcely considered as a crime. The deed of transfer goes to say—"You may sell or kill him or her." In law (though not always in fact), the latter privilege has ceased. They are exclusively employed in agriculture, and live in hovels in the neighbourhood of the estates, or nestle on the trees along their borders, to watch the crop after the toils of the day. Their labours are repaid (if such can be called compensation) in grain, three measures of paddy to a man, two to a woman, and one to a child, is their daily pittance: this is not regularly given, but reduced to half on days in which they do not work, and withheld entirely on symptoms of refractoriness. The external distinctions among them are subject to great varieties; they are sometimes remarkable for an extreme darkness of hue, approaching closely to that of the African, but they are invariably stamped with the Hindoo feature. The bark *spatha*, of the arraka, often furnishes their whole clothing, which at best never exceeds a bit of cloth sufficient for decency.

**Polayens.** These constitute the largest number of the predial slaves. They are in a very debased condition. The eldest of their male children belongs to the master of the father, the rest of the family remain with the mother for a time, but being the property of her owner, revert to him when of an age to be useful, and she follows in the event of her becoming a widow.

**Parriars.** They form a considerable number of the slaves, and rank very low; they are considered so vile, that their contact would entail most alarming contamination. They indulge in a taste for carrion, and the death of a cow or bullock, from any cause, is to them the season of a jubilee. The children are the property of the father's master.

**Naiadees.** This wretched race is only found in the northern parts of Cochin; being banished the villages, they live on the low hills; they never cultivate the lands—a bush or rock is their only shelter. They are wild amidst civilized inhabitants; starving





amongst cultivation; nearly naked they wander in search of a few roots; but chiefly depend on charity. The traveller is often surprized at their clamorous impetuosity in soliciting. Ascending the slopes, they vociferate their supplications in piteous tones. Whatever charity they receive is placed on the ground, near where they stand; but, on observing that their petitions are heard, they retire from the spot, that they may not defile the donor by their presence.

*Rootanaad.* Wages are usually paid in grain. A small quantity of unhusked rice, and one meal, is considered sufficient for eight hours' labour. The most degrading labour is exacted from them; especially in the embankments of their rivers. In this operation the slave is frequently obliged to dive under the water some depth, when, having collected as much soil with both hands as can be secured on his head, he rises half enveloped in his miry load; if of shallow depth, the soil is taken up with a large wooden hoe. There are two castes of slaves—the Parriah and the Pulliar. They are estimated at one eighth of the population.

*Koorumbudy or Syrian Village.* The slaves are numerous in this district, some agriculturalists owning from fifty to one hundred. They are all predial, and live in the paddy fields, not being allowed to enter the villages. They cannot purchase their freedom, and may be separated at the caprice of the owner, who is permitted to inflict any punishment short of death. Value of a slave, about twenty-one rupees.

*Muattapilly District.* Population 20,000. Slaves 4,000.

*Todayilly.* Evidence of a slave owner. "There are many slaves in this district. I have thirty, and pay them, when I have work, two dungalees of paddy per diem. I do not support them when unemployed, or when sick. At such times, they go into the jungle in search of roots on which they exist."

A missionary says, that during the monsoon, when the lands are submerged, and there is no work for the slaves, he is in the habit of relieving considerable numbers who are consigned by their masters to starvation. He states that they are employed in the most unhealthy occupations, are made to work far beyond their strength, and that their constitutions frequently sink under it. In the alluvial lands, formed by the deposit of rivers, the slaves are made to work the whole day up to their necks in water, and to dive to bring up the mud and roots to form embankments. The slave owner, from a feeling of self interest, might be supposed to value the life of his slave too much to employ him in such killing work, but he has no need of such a consideration as very many of them are hired from the Circar.

For the most part the slave is short-lived, seldom attaining the middle age; the mortality amongst them is said to be very great. The slaves are not regarded as human—they live in a state of hopeless wretchedness—the outcast swine is not so resourceless, nor is the criminal subjected to suffering so grievous.

The most degraded of the seventy-five castes of Travancore considers himself defiled by the sight of a slave. Whenever a stranger approaches, they instinctively cover, and run to hide themselves. In passing up the Periar river, our boatmen, who were Choguns, (one of the lowest of the castes) hailed a slave whom they heard cutting wood in the jungle, and ordered him to retire to a distance to save them from pollution.

It is a prejudice at home, that none but a mild slavery is known in India, differing little from our servitude. But what a degraded state do the facts reveal!

Another minister says, "I had thoughts of giving individual instances of murder and violence inflicted on the slaves, but I at present forbear." And he adds, "The slaves are not regularly employed, and are therefore frequently in a state of starvation, and in many places decreasing in numbers. Unwholesome roots constitute a large portion of their food. Punishment is inflicted at pleasure; they are frequently fettered and imprisoned. They are neglected in age, and are permitted to perish from want and disease.

Such are some of the revelations in connexion with the state of slavery in India; much more might be added, to show the awfully degraded and brutallized condition of the poor victims of oppression and wrong. But enough has been said to impress the mind with the conviction that all that slavery can effect, has been produced in the condition of these unhappy beings.

NOTE.—For further particulars relating to slavery in Travancore, see papers on East India slavery, 1841, pages 516—517.

## ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE MARKET OF TURKEY.

(Abridged from the *Morning Chronicle*, &c.)

The announcement recently received from Constantinople, that the Sultan, at a meeting of the Supreme Council of Justice, had personally taken the initiative in a measure which must be regarded as the first step to the abolition of slavery throughout his extensive dominions, is one whose importance it would be difficult to over-estimate. It will be hailed with delight, not only by every well-wisher to the Ottoman empire, but by the friends of liberty and civilization in every region of the habitable world. It is an evidence that the progress of enlightenment in Turkey proceeds not from a casual and desultory appetite for change, but from a profound and unalterable conviction, constantly spreading among the educated classes in that country, that both their national position, and the domestic interests of society, require a gradual but persevering reconstruction of the old Mohammedan system. The more frequent and intimate their intercourse with the rest of Europe, the more must it be laid open to their anxious scrutiny on what foundations European strength and prosperity are based. They are constantly receiving the most impressive lessons both from their real and from their seeming friends. Ambition, emulation, and, not least, unceasing alarm, are constantly at work to startle Turkey from that ignoble dream of security and immobility in which she had indulged so long. Those who are aware of the extent to which public opinion in the East controls the movements of Government in reforms of this nature, will know how to appreciate the importance of this event as an indication of what public opinion in Turkey really is.

The present ordinance is, we understand, confined to a suppression of the public slave-markets, and to the withdrawal of the sanction of the state from all the atrocities and indecencies to which the traffic in slaves, and unrestrained disposal of them, not only authorized, but patronized by the institutions of the country, had hitherto given rise.

Slavery, though tolerated by the Koran, is not justified to the extent to which it has been carried, either in character or degree. Hence it recommends the enfranchisement of slaves as a meritorious action; and the rich Mussulmans, at their great family festivals, or before setting out on a long journey, and indeed at any important event of their lives, believe they cannot do anything more agreeable to God than to give a slave his freedom. But, although the Koran, by its precepts, might lead to an amelioration of the condition of the slave, it nevertheless has given its sanction to a state of society, which is the fruitful cause of slavery in Turkey. The laxity of its provisions, in regard to intercourse between the sexes, has led to the present demoralized condition of society, and has afforded, too long, the incentive to a perpetuation of the dreadful system. It is only during the present century that we have witnessed any successful effort to modify it. The destruction of the Mamelukes and the Janissaries swept away at once the worst abuses of the system, and the most formidable obstacles to its reform. And now we behold with unmixed gratification, the axe laid to the root of the main cause of the unprogressiveness and decay which have hitherto, so painfully and so fatally, for many of the best interests of the world, characterized Mohammedan states. Unmeasured gratitude is due to the humane and enlightened sovereign of that ancient empire, for this well-considered step in the right direction. We trust he will obtain not only the approval, but support, both of every enlightened man in his own dominions, and of all his European allies, the hearty co-operation of whom, may so materially conduce to the carrying out of the sultan's wishes, and to that close approximation between the aims and pursuits of the East and the West which is essential to the prosperity and independence of both.

We say this, not having the slightest wish to see any reforms introduced into Turkey which would be fundamentally uncongenial with the habits and ideas of its people. Reforms of that description, the baseless introduction of mere European fashions, we look upon as impolitic and unnecessary, and as likely, if carried too far, to undermine the stability of the Mohammedan system, and of course of all the national independence that is based on it. But we do not and cannot believe that there is anything in the religion of the Koran hostile to the introduction among the Moslem of habits and institutions more in accordance with modern ideas than the traditional abuses of a system which, to their untutored forefathers, was a necessity of their position and their age. All society, all law and honour, all liberty and progress, are based on, and deter-



mined by, the relations between the sexes. The remotest approach to a better system in those Mohammedan nations, whose welfare is bound up with that of Europe, is pregnant with incalculable hopes for the gradual and effective development of energies still abundant among those noble races, but which their too fond and bigoted adherence to antiquated institutions had done so much to stifle and retard. But it is not too late yet to retrieve the sluggishness of the past, and the event on which we comment, while it does infinite honour to the wisdom of the Sultan who proposed it, is a pledge of better days for the people committed to his charge.

We have dwelt rather upon the remote consequences of this reform, than on the immediate alleviations of individual suffering which will result from it. Even the latter it would be difficult to value too highly, if they were not outweighed by the former. In both lights—as a measure of humanity, and as a step towards national regeneration—the measure is deserving of all praise. The importance of it, as well as the obstacles which it has had and will have to encounter, and consequently the resolution required for its adoption, our readers will not fail to appreciate, if they open any page of Turkish history, or reflect for one moment on the fact that two of the present ministers of the Sultan are freed slaves; that the Sultan's mother was a slave, and that all his numerous offspring, the renewed scions of that royal race which had so nearly become extinct, are, we believe, without exception, the children of purchased slaves.

P. S. We have since received intelligence, that on the 31st of January, the slave market was closed, and the cells occupied by the slaves evacuated.

#### MOHAMEDAN SLAVERY.

Before the power of Mohamed, slaves (captives in war or their issue) formed an important part of the wealth of his countrymen. The wars by which his faith was spread added greatly to the slave property of the conquerors.

The Koran enjoins the slaughter of idolaters and war with infidels, until they confess the unity of God. Such confession or submission to the Jaseyat or capitation tax, entitles them to protection, otherwise the imaum is to direct the army of the faithful against the refractory infidels; and if he prevail, he may either slay them or reduce them to slavery. They are to be distributed among the conquerors. Proselytism after capture did not save the captive from slavery.

The muftis have laid down, that only capture in a holy war, or descent from such a captive, constitutes the slave legal to a Muslim master. Though the Hidayah does not allude to any other source of slavery, yet it does not seem to restrict its legality to these conditions, which, in fact, would exclude descendants of a large mass of slaves existing before the holy wars. According to the Kaduri, &c. self sale may be a legal origin of slavery, to preserve life, or to satisfy a judgment debt. The Hidayah (although not alluding to self sale) says the sale of a freeman is null, because he cannot be property, and that sale is the exchange of property for property.

#### LAW OF MOHAMEDAN SLAVERY.

1. The absolute slave (abd) is said to be (mahur) interdict, (the case of divorce excepted) his act, unsanctioned by his master, is not binding so long as his slavery continues. But if the master license his slave to trade, the acts of such a slave in the way of traffic are binding until interdiction be revived by the master. His person and the effects of his business are liable to be sold for the benefit of his creditors; and if his master has appropriated out of his gains more than a suitable equivalent for the slave's labour, he must refund to the creditors. Excess of sale proceeds belong to the master.

Manumission of a Muslim slave is enjoined by the Koran as a pious act, and the law has provided for several modifications of bondage and prospective freedom.

The slave to whom liberty after his master's death is promised is called a "muddabar." This *post-obit* manumission existed as a usage at the time of Mohamed. It was sometimes restricted by the condition of the master's death within a defined time, or from a particular illness. In case of death, the slave is said to be enfranchised out of the bequeathable one-third of his master's estate. In case of a deficiency of assets, the slave might owe emancipatory labour for the whole or part of his value to the creditors or heirs of the deceased.

On a *dictum* of the Prophet, the female slave who has borne a

child to her master establishes her freedom, and she is absolutely entitled to it on his death if he acknowledge the child. She is technically called Umm-ul-vald.

The Koran also exhorts the master to grant a covenant to his slave, in whom he finds "good"—that is, to his Muslim slave. The covenanted slave, after acceptance, becomes a *mukatab*. In this transaction the master assures to his slave liberty for a consideration, usually a sum in instalments. In case of non-payment the covenant may be annulled, but it must be done judicially; and a short grace is allowed after inquiry.

Covenanted enfranchisement is distinct from manumission in exchange for property. The distinction is one of those ingenious subtleties in which Arabian jurists delight. If a slave accept the proposal of his master, that he shall be free for a given sum, he is free at once before payment, and owes the money, for which bail may be taken. This is said to be a contract of exchange of property for what is not property, the slave not being owner of his own person, and the effect of the contract (his freedom) is established on acceptance by the slave of its stipulation, but the stipulated consideration in kitabat is not considered as a debt, nor cautionable. If a master were to propose to his slave that he shall be free when he shall have paid him a sum of money, and the slave accepts, kitabat would not be constituted thereby; for the freedom would only begin from the payment of the money whereas in the case of kitabat, freedom begins from the time of the bargain. But in the case now put, the slave becomes licensed, because the master excites him to earn, and the master may be compelled to take the stipulated exchange.

The slave under such contracts is, until default, practically free; the master cannot exercise over him any dominion, nor can he alienate by sale, gift, or pledge.

A slave is considered as property, and is often denominated *mamluk*. The earnings of a slave belong to the master, except in cases particularly provided for.

A slave, even the covenanted, cannot marry without the assent of his master (and except the *mukatab*) may be married against his will. The state of the child follows that of the mother. If she be a slave, her children are the slaves of her master, of the same quality as she was at the time of their respective births. A slave cannot be the spouse of his or her owner. If one spouse become the owner of the other (a slave), the latter is emancipated; and a wife married when a slave, may dissolve the contract when free. The relation of master and slave cannot obtain between those related within the prohibited degrees. The master is allowed to use and abuse a female slave who is married without his assent. The embrace of a Pagan slave is illicit—if the master cohabits with a *mukatab*, he is liable to pay her a portion.

A master is liable to lose a slave guilty of an offence, or pay a stipulated fine; this fact is supposed to justify severe restraint. According to the doctrines of the lawyers of the early centuries of Islam, the master might put his slave to death. The Hidayah confirms this view, by the statement of cases in which it had been so ruled. The legal penalty of murder is retaliation, which is considered a private right, at the discretion of the legal representatives of the slave. Where there is no private vindicator, the ruling power is invested with a discretionary right to punish crimes, which, however, is never carried out. There is, however, an exception to this. The muftis already mentioned, however, distinctly lays down that the master can only inflict moderate chastisement, and that the exercise of cruelty exposes him to punishment by the ruling power. The Hidayah says:—It is abominable to affix an iron collar on the neck of a slave, whereby he may be unable to move his head. Such is the custom of tyrants, for this is the punishment of the damned. It is therefore abominable, like burning with fire.

Defined penalties are ordained for certain offences. The slave is exempted from the penalty attached to the crime of adultery; but suffers the same as the freeman for highway robbery or murder—the penalty for which is single or double amputation. Retaliation of murder obtains between the slave and freemen, but is barred if the murderer be master, or father of the master of the slave. In this class of offences by a slave, the general rule is the surrender of the slave to the offended party. Offences short of a murder against a slave's person render the offender liable to the payment of his value. If the hand of a slave is cut off, half his value is incurred, and so on in proportion.

The evidence of a slave is not admissible, nor will his confessions in questions of property bind his master. But the slave



may undergo a defined penalty, or retaliation for murder, on his confession.

A partial emancipation entitles a slave to work out the completion of his freedom. He has a legal right to maintenance. The separation of slaves nearly related, if one be an infant, is declared abominable, but this does not apply to husband and wife.

A remarkable result of emancipation is the relation of "wala," whereby the emancipator becomes the agnate kinsman of his freedman. The emancipator is thus preferred to the freedman's cognate kin.

It is not clearly established, whether the ownership of a Muslim slave is legal to the Christian, but it has been contended against.

The Mohamedan civil law regards the slave as a degraded being, and scarcely entitled to protection, except as the property of his master, whose power over him is absolute. The Koran has some ordinances, and several exhortations for the amelioration of the condition and prospects of slaves, and in conformity with these the early Mahomedan jurists have laid down some salutary provisions, but insufficient to meet the severities, or supply the defects of the strict law, the administration of which, unmitigated by regulation and construction, would be impossible to a civilized government.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS OF SLAVERY.

We continue our notice of the Law of American Slavery, by referring to the

##### UNQUALIFIED SUBMISSION TO THE WILL OF THE WHITES REQUIRED OF THE SLAVES.

The Code of Louisiana gravely lays down the following principle:—

"Free people of colour ought never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the whites; but, on the contrary, they ought to *yield* to them on every occasion, and never to speak or answer them, but with respect, under the penalty of imprisonment, according to the nature of the offence."—1 *Martin's Digest*, 640-2.

The following are specimens of the laws by which the whole white community have made themselves tyrants over the slaves:—

"If any slave shall happen to be slain for refusing to surrender him or herself, contrary to law, or in unlawfully resisting any officer or other person who shall apprehend, or endeavour to apprehend, such slave or slaves, &c., such officer or other person so killing such slave as aforesaid, making resistance, shall be, and he is by this Act, *indemnified* from any prosecution for such killing aforesaid, &c."—*Maryland Laws, Act of 1751, chap. xiv. § 9.*

And by the Negro Act of 1740, of South Carolina, it is declared:—

"If any slave, who shall be out of the house or plantation where such slave shall live, or shall be usually employed, or without some white person in company with such slave, shall *refuse to submit* to undergo the examination of *any white person*, it shall be lawful for such white person to pursue, apprehend, and moderately correct such slave; and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, such slave may be *lawfully killed*."—2 *Brevard's Digest*, 231.

##### POWER OF THE SLAVE-HOLDER.

"Whereas by another Act of the Assembly, passed in the year 1774, the killing of a slave, however wanton, cruel, and deliberate, is only punishable in the first instance by imprisonment and paying the value thereof to the owner, which distinction of criminality between the murder of a white person and one who is equally a human creature, but merely of a different complexion, is disgraceful to humanity, and degrading in the highest degree to the laws and principles of a free Christian and enlightened country; be it enacted, &c., That if any person shall hereafter be guilty of wilfully and maliciously killing a slave, such offender shall, upon the first conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of murder, and shall suffer the same punishment as if he had killed a free man; and provided always, this Act shall not extend to the person killing a slave *outlawed* by virtue of any Act of Assembly of this state, or to any slave in the act of resistance to his lawful owner or master, or to any slave *dying under moderate correction*."—*Haywood's Manuel*, 530; and see *Laws of Tennessee, Act of Oct. 23, 1799, with a like proviso.*

"Any person who shall maliciously dismember or deprive a slave of life, shall suffer such punishment as would be inflicted in case the like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on the like proof, except in case of insurrection of such slave, and unless such death should happen by accident in giving such slave moderate correction."—*Constitution of Georgia, Art. 4, § 12, Prince's Digest*, 559.

Judge Stroud remarks,

"That a proclamation of *outlawry* against a slave is authorized, whenever he runs away from his master, conceals himself in some obscure retreat, and to sustain life, kills a *hog* or some animal of the cattle kind!!"—See *Haywood's Manuel*, 521; *Act of 1741, chap. 24, § 45.*

In South Carolina, by the Act of 1740, the "wilful murder" of a slave was punished by a fine of "seven hundred pounds current money," and inability to hold office; but another description of murder, more likely to occur, was punished as follows:—

"If any person shall, on a sudden heat or passion, or by *undue correction*, kill his own slave, or the slave of any other person, he shall forfeit the sum of *three hundred and fifty pounds* current money."—*Brevard's Digest*, 241.

By an Act of 1821, the former provision was abolished; but the latter was continued, diminishing the price to five hundred dollars, and authorizing an imprisonment of six months.—*James's Digest*, 392.

"It is the imperative duty of the judges to recognise the *full dominion* of the owner over the slave, except where the exercise of it is forbidden by statute."—*Judge Ruffin.—N. Carolina.*

"In case any person shall wilfully cut out the tongue, put out the eye, castrate, or *cruelly* scald, burn, or deprive any slave of any limb, or member, or shall inflict *any other cruel punishment, other than by whipping or beating with a horse whip, cow skin, switch, or small stick, or by putting irons on, or confining or imprisoning* such slave, every such person shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds current money."—2 *Brevard's Digest*, 241.

Louisiana imposes a heavier penalty for taking *off irons* than she does for the "*cruel punishments*" specified above, as appears from this:—

"If any person or persons, &c., shall cut or break any iron chain or collar, which any master of slaves should have used, in order to prevent the running away or escape of any such slave or slaves, such person or persons so offending shall, on conviction, &c., be fined not less than two hundred dollars, nor exceeding one thousand dollars; and suffer imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, nor less than six months."—*Act of Assembly of March 6, 1819; Pamphlet, page 64.*

Now, in the same state, the law before quoted from South Carolina is in force, and the penalty is a fine of not more than five hundred dollars, nor less than two hundred.

In Missouri, the master is assisted in punishing as follows:—

"If any slave resist his or her master, mistress, overseer, or employer, or *refuse to obey* his or her lawful commands, it shall be lawful for such master, &c., to commit such slave to the common jail of the county, there to remain *at the pleasure* of the master, &c.; and the sheriff shall receive such slave, and keep him, &c., in confinement, at the expense of the person committing him or her."—1 *Missouri Laws*, 309.

##### DELEGATED POWER OF THE MASTER.

According to the universal practice of the slave states, the master may delegate his tremendous power to any other person whom he pleases.

Louisiana has the following express law:

"The condition of the slave being merely a passive one, his subordination to his master, and to all who represent him, is not susceptible of any modification or restriction (except in what can excite the slave to the commission of crime), in such manner, that he owes to his master, and to all his family, a respect without bounds and absolute obedience, and is consequently to execute all the orders which he receives from him, his said master, or from them."—1 *Martin's Digest*, 616.

##### UNITED STATES.—INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE.

Baltimore, January 24, 1847.

I send you a few incidents that have occurred here during the past week, which may prove of some interest to your readers. Hope H. Slatter, the notorious dealer in God's image, has made a shipment of a large number of *men, women, and children*, for the rice swamps of the far South. The *General Pinkney*, the vessel which took this freight of bodies and souls, cleared several days previously to sailing, and lay anchored off the "Point," and in real slave-trading style, at the appointed time, weighed anchor dropped into her berth, took in her cargo, and immediately sailed. Slatter's slave prison is about two miles from the "Point." He generally, as in this case, treats his *goods* to an omnibus ride from their *public house* to the vessel, and in the *free, enlightened, Christian* city of Baltimore, third city of the *only Republican and free country on earth*, on Tuesday, January 19th, 1847, might have been seen a train of omnibuses crowded with human beings,



"made but little lower than the angels," torn from all that makes life desirable, without crime or offence, and hurried off to toil "beneath the burning sun of a Southern plantation," without reward, with no man to care for their soul. Following this train, was a tall, grey-headed old man, of sixty winters, on horseback. His heart was callous to the wailings of the anguished mother for her child. He heeded not the sobs of the young wife for her husband. The sister, whose grief was insupportable as she heard the last farewell, faintly uttered, from an only brother as he was hurried on board that accursed vessel, moved not the adamant heart of this human trafficker. These connexions may not have existed as I have stated them, but friendship in every relation is severed by these horrible transactions. I saw a mother whose very frame was convulsed with anguish for her first-born, a girl of eighteen, who, notwithstanding her master was under bonds to the amount of two thousand dollars not to sell any of the family out of the state, had been sold to this dealer, and was among the number then shipped. I saw a young man who kept pace with the carriages, that he might catch one more glimpse of a dear friend before she was torn for ever from his sight. As she saw him, she burst into a flood of tears, was hurried out of his sight, sorrowing most of all that they should see each other's face no more.

These are not uncommon occurrences in this city. The last Tuesday in December, there was a much larger number shipped than on last Tuesday. This is about all we see of slavery here in the city. Humanity is not shocked, as on plantations, with the frequent floggings of the slave, or at least, it does not fall under observation, as in the other case. The effects of slavery, however, are to be seen on every hand, and marks of this blighting system will be visible years after slavery has been abolished.

### The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MONDAY, MARCH 1st, 1847.

The policy of the Government in relation to the British Emancipated Colonies is now becoming fully evident. They have determined the course which they will pursue on the two great questions of Immigration and Legislation. The planters are to have an unlimited supply of foreign labour, chiefly, though not exclusively, East Indian and African; and, what they infinitely prize, the means of coercing it. Nor is their power to be limited to this point. Under a system of implied contracts, the Creole, or native labourers, are to be subjected to the same rigorous control.

Since the complete abolition of slavery, there has been, on the part of the planters, a great outcry for labourers, and immense masses of them from various parts of Europe, the United States, Canada, Hindostan, and the British Settlements in Africa, have been introduced principally into the colonies of Jamaica, Mauritius, Guiana, and Trinidad. The greater part of these people were imported, under a system of bounties, drawn from the colonial treasuries, and, consequently, at the public expense.

The disgraceful frauds practised on the immigrants—the cruel treatment to which they have been subjected—and the great mortality they have endured, are too notorious and too easily proved, to be successfully denied. More than once the government have been forced, under the salutary pressure of public opinion, to interpose its authority to check these enormities, and, on one occasion, to stop the immigration altogether. But whatever changes may have marked its progress, the following facts still remain patent, and attest that it is an unjust, inhuman, and pernicious system.

First, it is not carried on at the expense of the planters, the parties immediately benefited by it, but by means of heavy taxation, chiefly levied on the clothing, food, materials for building, &c., used by the emancipated classes. These people, instead of being permitted to enjoy the fruits of their industry, are compelled, at the present moment, not only to bear their fair share of the burdens, imposed by the Colonial Legislatures, in support of the general government; but are forced to supply the larger part of the funds exacted for the special purpose of immigration, with a view of reducing their wages to the *minimum* point. Is not this unjust, grossly unjust? Let the planters be compelled to pay for the importation of the labourers they may severally require, and, depend upon it, the cry for additional hands would speedily cease. They would, in that case, soon discover that they had as many as they could profitably employ, and would seek, in every practicable way, to economize what they have. The cry for more labourers is

factitious, not real, but it pleases the government to meet it, by means not merely exceptionable, but positively unjust to the labouring population of the colonies.

Secondly, the scheme for supplying these colonies with labourers violates the essential conditions of a healthy and useful immigration, and is not less inhuman than it is unjust. Masses of males are introduced without a corresponding number of females; in fact the disparity of the sexes is frightful. It cannot be shown from the returns laid before parliament that more than twelve or fifteen per cent. of women have accompanied the men; and by far the largest number of these have been of the worst class. The wives and families of the great bulk of the East Indian labourers have been left at home to shift as they best might; and, we believe, that were the facts connected with their melancholy history and destitution fully known, they would be sufficient of themselves to determine every reasonable man to decide against the scheme. The immigrants introduced are regarded and treated as mere implements of labour. The fact that they are men is lost sight of. To the planter and to the government it matters not what blight may wither their natural affections, what moral degradation may result from the depraving circumstances in which they are placed, provided the sugar fields are well cultivated, and the revenue suffer no loss.

Thirdly, notwithstanding every effort to disguise the fact, there can be no doubt that the loss connected with this system of immigration has been greater than the gain. No provision is made for the permanent settlement of the Coolie immigrants in the colonies to which they are transported. At the end of every five years they are to be returned to their homes at the public expense. They are, therefore, merely transitory labourers, and must be replaced, from year to year, as they die off or remove. Upwards of three quarters of a million of money have been expended in the introduction of this unprofitable species of labour into Mauritius alone; and though the government consents to the further importation of 6,000 per annum to cover the annual loss to the colony occasioned by deaths and removals, yet it can be demonstrated that, in the year 1851, there will be fewer Indian labourers in the island than are there at the present time. But to the three quarters of a million already expended, there must be added, at least, another quarter of a million to cover the expenses of immigration during the next four years, and then the colony will have to provide the return passage to India for the surviving immigrants, which, it is admitted will amount to an enormous sum. Yet notwithstanding this vast expenditure the Colony has not been really enriched. The Coolies have displaced the Negroes, the planters are impoverished, the Colony is taxed to its utmost point of endurance, the Banks are on the brink of ruin, and the interest on money is exorbitantly high. The fact is, that, within a shade, the whole produce of Mauritius passes into the hands of merchants and mortgagees. Nor is it much better with the Colonies of Trinidad and British Guiana. With the exception of the ruling clique, the representatives of the great West India Houses, at home, there are few who consider the importation of foreign labourers necessary, whilst the great bulk of the people are decidedly hostile to it. As to Jamaica, it is well known that Coolie immigration has been forced on it by the West India body in this country, aided by the late and present Governments; but the independent part of the community there, having a voice in the legislature, have given unmistakeable opposition to it, and we feel persuaded that it will not be continued after the present season. As to Trinidad, the colony, we are informed, is rapidly approaching to a state of beggary, owing mainly to the pernicious scheme in force for supplying the colony with labour; and that some of the leading men, as well as the non-represented part of the community, are decidedly opposed to the introduction of more Coolies. This colony, however, is made responsible by the legislative assembly and the Home Government, for a loan of £250,000, and interest thereon, to be devoted to immigration purposes. If we may believe the reports from Guiana, the same hostility is rising there against further immigration. It has not answered the ends proposed. It has driven large numbers of the emancipated classes from the estates, and will undoubtedly drive more. Thus, whilst the Government is introducing the raw material of labour, that which is skilled and efficient is rapidly withdrawing itself. So great has been the secession in Mauritius, that of the 70,000 slaves emancipated, not more than 4,000 or 5,000 are now engaged in agricultural pursuits; and the same evil is developing itself



in the West India colonies, into which foreign labourers are imported. It is a significant fact that out of the 15,000 Coolies expecting to arrive in the colonies of Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Guiana, this season, there has not yet been a demand for more than 5,000 from all the planters together; and the question has arisen what is to be done with the rest? In British Guiana the reply of the public journals is, "Forcibly locate them!" Could things have come to this pass had the Government understood the real facts of the case, or listened to the earnest representations made to them on this subject? Certainly not. We feel then perfectly justified in saying that the immigration scheme is as pernicious to the vital interests of the colonies, as it is unjust and inhuman.

In the last number of the *Reporter*, we called the attention of our readers to the modified slave code which it is proposed shall be enacted in the colonies requiring immigrants, under the direct sanction of the Government. The last West India mail brings intelligence that ordinances were laid before the legislative assemblies of Trinidad and British Guiana, for carrying it into effect. Should they finally receive the sanction of the Crown, we may bid farewell to the liberty of the immigrants, so long as their period of service continues, in the British colonies. Besides this, we are pained to announce to our readers that the "Bondage Ordinance" of British Guiana—a full account of which they will find in the *Reporter* for January this year—has been sanctioned by the Home Government, and is now in force in that colony. We will not trust ourselves to designate these measures in the terms which we believe they deserve; but we are compelled to say, that any Government which can either recommend or sanction such laws is unworthy the confidence of the friends of equal rights and enlightened humanity.

It will be seen in the reply of Mr. Hawes to Mr. Barkly, in the House of Commons, on the 19th ult., that the Government have determined to open the Kroo Coast, West Africa, to the planters of the British colonies. This, we hesitate not to say, is the beginning of a new slave trade. The Under-Secretary for the Colonies assured the House of Commons, that the people in the Kroo country were free. We beg to deny this, and challenge the proof. The Kroomen are under the authority of their chiefs, or head-men, and dare not act independently of them. We have now before us the "Report of the Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa," from which it is quite clear that the Kroomen are in a state of bondage. They cannot ship themselves on board a vessel without permission of the head-men, who must receive, "in advance, two months' wages," and on their return, "this head-man takes their earnings as an equivalent, probably, for the debts of the family."

Two Kroomen were examined before the West African Committee on the subject of the emigration of their countrymen to the West Indies. They said, that "if the King has a small dash or present, he will then consent to let the people go." But if they did not like to go, "he would make them like to go." These are the free Kroomen who are to be invited to go to British Guiana, to cultivate its sugar fields; and the Government have undertaken to employ one of H.M. ships of war, the *Scourge* steamer, for the purpose of transporting them thither, during the next twelve months, "by way of experiment."

We beg to call the serious attention of our countrymen to this point, and to inform them, that one of the reasons for employing a Government vessel in this transaction is, that these Kroomen may be conveyed to the colonies without any expense to the planters, under the plea of giving the poor Africans "a free passage," and that this is the beginning of a system for transferring the burden of an expensive system of immigration to the West Indies, from the shoulders of those who ought to bear it, to those of the people of this country.

We see, however, a new form of the slave-trade likely to spring out of this most uncalled-for and unhappy experiment. What is to hinder the Spanish and Brazilian Governments, or indeed any Government, which has their colonies or territories, from following the bad example of repairing to the coast of Africa for nominally free men, for the purpose of making them slaves? We defy the Government to find an answer to this question, unless, indeed, it be that the exigencies of free trade require it. We know that many who have the ear of Government at present, are as anxious for a free trade in men, as the noble lord at the head of the Colonial Office, is for a free trade in produce, whether raised by

freemen or slaves; but we trust our countrymen are not yet disposed to revive the slave-trade, or to allow others to do it with impunity.

It will be seen by reference to the proceedings in the House of Lords, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have petitioned Parliament against the introduction of slave-grown sugars into breweries and distilleries. They did this on purely anti-slavery grounds, and in consistency with the steps they had previously taken to prevent the introduction of slave-grown produce into the British markets. It will be seen that the opposition of Lord Stanley ended in the defeat of his amendment to refer the question to a select committee for inquiry; and that, consequently, the bills which have reference to this subject, have become law. From the information which has reached us from abroad, we are satisfied that our fears in relation to the slave-trade and the extension of slavery are beginning to be realized; but we have at least the consolation of knowing that we have done our best to prevent so great a calamity falling on the human race.

On the 28th of January last, several devoted friends of the anti-slavery cause met, by invitation of Joseph Sturge and George William Alexander, to consider the propriety of taking the necessary steps to promote the use, so far as it is practicable, of articles the produce of free labour only. Mr. W. T. Blair, of Bath, acted as chairman on the occasion; and it was the opinion of those present, that the duty of abstinence from slave-produce, as far as practicable, should be earnestly urged on the attention of the friends of the slave throughout Great Britain, and that steps should be taken to increase the supply of goods manufactured exclusively from cotton by freemen. In accordance with these views, which entirely harmonize with our own, and with the rules of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, we entreat the serious attention of our readers to this important practical subject.

We beg to invite the attention of our friends to specimens of some free-labour cotton goods, now at the Anti-slavery Office, 27, New Broad-street.

We have just had put into our hands two handsome volumes, containing the memoirs of two eminent missionaries, the late William Knibb, of Jamaica, and Dr. Yates, of Calcutta. The former delineates the life and labours of a man eminently qualified for his work, and to whom the emancipated Negroes of the West Indies are under the greatest obligation. When we say that the editor of William Knibb's memoirs is the Rev. John H. Hinton, we offer a sufficient guarantee that it is worthy of a place in every library, independently of the rich materials with which it abounds, and that it scarcely needs our recommendation to insure it a wide circulation. In another number of the *Reporter*, we hope to give this memoir an extended notice, for it properly belongs to the history of the anti-slavery cause. The memoir of Dr. Yates is written by Dr. Hoby; and though different in its character, is full of interesting details relating to a learned, laborious, and faithful servant of God.

It gives us singular pleasure to inform our readers that an anti-slavery paper, called "the *National Era*," has been established at Washington, the capital, and seat of Congress of the United States. The editors are Dr. Bailey, the Rev. A. A. Phelps, and John G. Whittier, the Quaker poet, all men of ability, and long-tried friends of the slave. The four first numbers of this important paper have come to hand, and we have no hesitation in saying that it is a very superior production, both in style and temper. It leaves arrogance of assumption and the spirit of vituperation to that very small party in the United States who call themselves Abolitionists *par excellence*; and unites, in a remarkable degree, in the noble array of articles which have already appeared, the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*. It represents the principles of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and the interests of the Liberty party. We heartily wish it abundant prosperity and success.

Our news from France is of a cheering nature. Petitions for the abolition of slavery without delay are in course of presentation to the Chambers of Peers and Deputies. It is probable discussion will be taken upon them in both Chambers. It is also determined that a periodical shall be established to advocate the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the French Colonies.



## Poetry.

## THE WITNESSES.

BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

In ocean's wide domains,  
Half buried in the sands,  
Like skeletons in chains,  
With shackled feet and hands—

Beyond the fall of dews,  
Deeper than plummet lies—  
Float ships, with all their crews,  
No more to sink or rise.

There the black slave-ship swims,  
Freighted with human forms,  
Those fettered, fleshly limbs  
Are not the sport of storms.

These are the bones of slaves;  
They gleam from the abyss;  
They cry from yawning waves,  
"We are the witnesses."

Within earth's wide domains  
Are markets for men's lives;  
Their necks are galled with chains,  
Their wrists are cramped with gyves.

Dead bodies, that the kite  
In deserts makes its prey;  
Murders, that with affright  
Scare school-boys from their play!

All evil thoughts and deeds;  
Anger, and lust, and pride;  
The foulest, rankest weeds,  
That choke life's groaning tide!

These are the woes of slaves:  
They glare from the abyss;  
They cry, from unknown graves,  
"We are the witnesses!"

## Parliamentary Intelligence.

## HOUSE OF LORDS.—February 19th.

## SUGAR IN BREWERIES AND DISTILLERIES.

LORD BROUGHAM presented a petition from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, praying that the Distilling from Sugar Bill might not be enacted as a permanent measure. He was informed by those respectable petitioners that the effect of keeping up the differential duty for four years only, was to give such a stimulus to sugar planting in Cuba and Brazil, that many cotton plantations were in consequence thrown out of cultivation, and the price of slaves increased from twenty to twenty-five per cent. He hoped, when our East Indian possessions held out the hope of furnishing us with the quantity of sugar we required, that all obstacles to its production—such as the mode of imposing the land-tax—would be removed.

The EARL OF CLARENDON on rising said: My lords, before I proceed to move that you go into committee on the bill which is now on your lordships' table, I will take leave to say a few words with respect to what fell from my noble friend (Lord Stanley) the other evening, and also with respect to what fell from my noble friend to-night, with reference to the permanent character of the measures for permitting the use of sugar in breweries and distilleries. My noble friend thought that they ought to be of the same temporary character, and for the same reason, as the bill which was introduced in Parliament for permitting till the 1st of September next the free importation of foreign corn. Now, my lords, although these bills may serve to prevent a rise in the price of barley, and to mitigate the present distress, yet I am bound to say that even if Ireland had not been afflicted by famine, the bill for permitting the use of sugar in breweries would have been introduced, in redemption of a pledge given by my right honourable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the close of the last session of Parliament, and as an act of justice to those who were our fellow subjects in the colonies. The West India interests were distinctly promised that their claims, which were put forward, I must say, on irresistible grounds, to have their productions placed on fair and equal terms of consumption with all other productions, should be considered at the earliest period of the present session. Under these circumstances, her Majesty's Government were bound to be prepared with a measure of a fair and liberal character, and also of a permanent character; and that obligation was all the more pressing because we had reason to expect that it might afford some temporary relief to the existing distress. To make this measure a temporary one, so far from being an act of justice towards

the West Indies, would be an act of injustice, and they would prefer to be without it. It would give rise to agitation for the renewal of the measure, and lead to much disappointment and annoyance, if it were only to last till the 1st of September next. No man would venture to embark his capital in the trade while such a state of things existed. It would neither afford security to the colonies nor to the brewers and distillers at home. These, my lords, were the reasons which induced her Majesty's Government to bring forward this measure as a permanent one.

LORD STANLEY on rising said, he desired no more than that her Majesty's government should take the claims of the West Indians into their anxious and impartial consideration; but let not those claims be accepted as incontrovertible, on the mere declaration of her Majesty's Government. Let their lordships inquire, whether what the West Indians sought as a boon was just to other parties, and particularly whether it would not be a boon to the foreign producers of slave-grown sugar; because his strong impression was, that when a diminishing duty operated on the foreign producer, he would enter into a ruinous competition with the West Indies, and with the barley grower in this country. It was his opinion that the result of the measures would be of very little consequence as regarded agriculture in this country, and that so far as it was intended to convey any advantage to the colonists it would also be of little consequence; but that it would ultimately prove injurious to the West Indian colonists by increasing the competition against them of foreign sugar. He very much doubted whether any increased demand for sugar would benefit them under the present state of the law, whilst the duty on their sugar was fixed, and that upon slave-grown sugar diminished. Under these circumstances he (Lord Stanley) thought that the increase in the consumption of sugar in this country would be an increase in the consumption of slave-grown, and not of our colonial sugar. In the year 1844, there were consumed in this country 206,000 tons of sugar; in 1845 the quantity consumed was 240,000 tons of British, and 3,867 tons of foreign sugar, making in all 244,000 tons in round numbers; and the consumption of 1846, taken at an average, showed 266,000 tons: but did that show a corresponding advantage to the colonial producer? No, for of these 266,000 tons there were 238,000 tons, or 2,000 tons less than the former year, the growth of British possessions, whilst the foreign-grown sugar had increased from 3,867 tons to 28,196 tons. (Hear, hear.) The prospect, therefore, was certainly that, by an increased consumption of sugar in this country, we should increase the consumption of slave-grown, and not of colonial sugar. (Hear, hear.) It was worthy of recollection that the results to which he had alluded were those which had taken place very recently after the permission to introduce slave-grown sugar, and that not one pound of the slave-grown sugar so introduced, had been cultivated with a knowledge of the fact that such a permission had been granted. The market was now open, however, and it would be introduced at 21s. against a duty of 14s. If they looked to the state of things four years hence in the countries which produced slave-grown sugar, they would see that the case would be still stronger against the colonial interest; for at that time they would find new estates cultivated, slaves imported, and an increased produce to meet the altered state of things. There could be, in his opinion, no doubt that the effect of increased consumption of sugar in this country would be to encourage the consumption of slave-grown, and not of colonial sugar; thus, whilst the West India colonist received no great benefit, the Havana and Brazilian producer would receive a very great advantage. (Hear, hear.) He concluded by moving that the question be referred to a select committee.

EARL GREY in rising to reply said, it had been distinctly stated at the close of last session by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the noble lord at the head of the government, that although it was too late then to go into the question, no time should be lost in placing the sugar of the West India colonies on an equality of advantages with malt and corn. He, however, had no hesitation in avowing his belief, that the calculations on which the present bill was based were correct. (Hear, hear.) He would just allude to one argument of the noble lord's, which excited so much surprise in his mind that he could not help adverting to it. The noble lord said that this was supposed to be a measure for the relief of the West Indians—for the advantage of our colonies; "but," he added, "I assure you it will do nothing for the colonies—they know nothing about this measure—it's all for the relief of the foreign slave grower." How did the noble lord make out that remarkable proposition? He said they must remember that the duty on foreign slave-grown sugar was, under the bill of last year, in the course of progressive reduction, and that at the end of five years the duty would be equal, and he added that it was quite clear all the increased consumption would of course go to that particular description of produce which would have the benefit of that diminishing duty. But if that diminution of duty were to proceed at any rate, whether they increased the consumption or not, surely it was for the benefit of the colonies that that reduction should take place contemporaneously with an increase in consumption. (Hear, hear.) He thought then that the noble lord was very much in error when he said, that the result of increased consumption would merely be for the benefit of the foreign slave grower. He (Earl Grey) believed that directly the contrary would be the fact. He



did not believe that the foreign slave grower could reduce the price of his sugar, but he believed that the British colonist could do so, and he was glad to have it in his power to state that the colonist was taking active measures to produce that result. It was with the greatest satisfaction he had observed, since he had been at the head of the colonial department, that in Trinidad, and Jamaica, and the Mauritius, and indeed in almost every one of our colonies, there was a manifest tendency on the part of the planters, becoming every day more apparent, vigorously to exert themselves for the improvement of their cultivation, an effort which the slave-owners were prevented from making by the mere fact of their being slave-owners. (Hear.) The produce of the Mauritius two years ago was estimated at 45,000 tons, last year it was 50,000 tons, whilst the crop of this year was estimated, both by the governor and the planters, at 60,000 tons, being an increase of one-fifth on the produce of last year. (Hear, hear.) With these facts before them, he contended that they had no right to assume that the benefits of this measure would go to the foreign slave grower. (Hear, hear.) Once more, he asserted his belief in the accuracy of the calculations on which this measure was founded, and for these reasons he most confidently appealed to their lordships to reject the amendment of the noble lord. (Hear.)

LORD ASHBURTON said that the proposed bill would be so important in its operations upon the industry of the country, that he could not help expressing his strong disapproval of the measure. He believed that every one who was acquainted with our colonies admitted that it was impossible for the West Indies, with its poor soil, to compete successfully with the better soil and slave labour of Cuba and Brazil. Therefore, he looked upon the measure as calculated to advance the interests of the slave owner rather than of the colonist.

The House then divided. Contents, 35. Non-contents, 27. Majority against the amendment, 8. The bill then passed through the committee.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS.—February 19th.

##### AFRICAN EMIGRATION.

MR. BARKLY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies when her Majesty's government would be ready to carry into execution their intended plan of establishing steam communication between the west coast of Africa and the West Indies, for the purpose of facilitating the emigration of free labourers?

MR. HAWES, in reply to the honourable and gallant member, had to state that a vessel was preparing for some such service as that to which he alluded, and that it would not be long before she would be ready for it. The government were about taking this step inasmuch as the whole of the West Indies were greatly in want of labourers, and as various representations had been made from time to time to this House and to the Crown in order to obtain the assistance of government in facilitating the importation of labourers, the plan was calculated to meet their wishes in this respect. As it was found that the emigration of labourers and the purchase of provisions for the voyage was too costly and expensive for government, it had been thought right to facilitate such efforts on the part of the labourers themselves, and for this purpose a steamer, immediately under the authority of government, and under the control of government agents, would be allowed to go to that portion of the coast of Africa where neither slaves nor slave-traders were known—the Kroo coast—to carry labourers to the West Indies. It had been found that many Kroomen who were employed as labourers in the West Indies had requested leave to return to Africa, with the view of inducing others to go back with them for better employment and wages than they could obtain at home. He wished, however, to state distinctly that this measure was only experimental, and that it was immediately under the superintendence of the government, and would not be carried beyond a year, when it would be known whether or not free voluntary emigrants would be found on the coast to go to the West Indies as labourers, on payment of the cost of their passage.

MR. G. BERKELEY wished to know what was the name of the vessel?

MR. HAWES said he thought it was the *Scurge*.

#### UNITED STATES.

##### PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESS IN REFERENCE TO THE INTRODUCTION OF SLAVERY INTO ANY ACQUIRED TERRITORY OF MEXICO.

January.

The Bill to raise ten additional regiments for the army was taken up. Judge Dargan addressed the Committee, not on the merits of the Bill but on the demerits of Wilmot's proviso. The Mexican war, he said, was proving a serious matter. It was the existence of slavery which produced all the feeling recently manifested here in regard to the acquisition of territory. He then proceeded to trace the history of slavery, and characterized it as a providential institution, to be continued or terminated according to the wisdom of an overruling Providence. The evils attending the system were all borne by the South; its benefits accrued to the North. What would be thought by the volunteers from the South, when it was announced to them, that slavery was to be excluded from the territory their arms had acquired? This question must be settled before we

proceed to acquire more territory, for afterward it will be too late. He would say to his Northern friends, that unless the Missouri compromise (giving slavery all territory south of 36 degrees 30 minutes) were renewed, this Union would sink.

Mr. Grover, a Democratic member from New York, next addressed the Committee. He said he was gratified to see on the part of his Southern friends—for friends he would call them—a different line of tactics adopted from that which they had once pursued. He had heard to-day two gentlemen from the South very freely speaking on the subject of slavery, its origin, and extent, and what was to be its destiny in future. Now, Southern gentlemen had said two days ago that this was a topic which could not be discussed here: that all lips must be sealed in regard to it; and they had uttered in doleful notes their solemn warnings that, if its discussion were further permitted on this floor, the fair fabric of our Union would be in danger. But now quite a different course seemed to have been agreed on. They had themselves introduced the subject. Mr. G. rejoiced that they had done it; and he intended, on the one hand in no spirit of angry excitement, and on the other in no spirit of craven fear, but calmly and reasonably to enter on its discussion. But, before he did this, he wished to say a word in relation to the time at which this topic of slavery in our new territory had been introduced. The House had before it a Bill to appropriate two millions for the purpose of effecting a peace with Mexico. If these two millions should be appropriated, it was very clear they would be given by the House with the view of acquiring by negotiation a certain amount of territory from Mexico. What then? Ought the House to express its opinion whether in the territory to be acquired slavery might or might not be allowed to exist? Certainly, at the very earliest opportunity when the subject was presented to it for action. That was the time for that House, representing the freemen of these States, to take its stand, and to maintain it unflinchingly. Then it was for them to say whether, under the sanction of legislative authority, territory free in itself, where slavery existed by no law, should be converted into slave territory. Mr. G. had been prepared then, was now prepared, to declare that it should not. There was another reason why the proviso should have been introduced at that time. It had been published through all the North that the result of this Mexican war would be the extension of the area of slavery. The charge had been iterated and reiterated through all that region, that this was a war of the Administration, got up by the South for the very purpose of extending slavery; that conquests in Mexico would be pushed with a view to plant that institution where it did not then exist. Mr. G. did not believe this; he could not, he would not believe it. He could not bring himself to believe that there was a single representative on that floor who could for one moment cherish the purpose of using the power of this confederacy to convert territory, till then free, into slave territory. But he wanted some public legislative declaration in order to satisfy the Northern mind. It was not to be made the instrument for extending the institution of slavery. The Northern mind required, he thought, to be disabused. He therefore said to his friends, give us a declaratory resolution that you have no such design or object in view, and that it shall not be done. The gentlemen of the South and the whole country should understand that there existed throughout the entire North but one feeling; and that was, never to submit to the introduction of slavery by any act of this Congress where it had previously had no existence. Did the North, in making such a declaration as this, interfere with the institutions of the South? They left slavery where it was. They fully admitted that Congress had no authority to legislate about it within the States. All the North admitted, readily and most explicitly, that they had no right to interfere with the institutions established in the Southern States; but they were united in the determination that, by the joint action of this united Government, slavery should not be made to exist where it was not before. He held that that House was bound, by the highest of all earthly obligations, to inquire only how the interest, not of the North, not of the South, but of California herself, might best be promoted. If then we were to annex and to settle this wide region, what sort of institutions ought we to establish there? Free institutions, or the institution of slavery? The experience of mankind, the evidence of all human history, went to prove that free institutions were better adapted to develop the resources and promote the happiness of any country than an institution such as prevailed within the Southern States.

Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, took the floor. He noticed the extraordinary proposition of the gentleman from New York in relation to slavery. He felt no excitement; his purposes were fixed. It is well, if these principles are to be sanctioned, to know it in time, that we may look out for the preservation of the Union and the rights of our people. The gentleman from Ohio says the Missouri compromise applied only to the country ceded by France. That is true. But the South ceded rights by that compromise—the North yielded nothing. We had the right to go where we pleased with our men servants and maid servants. We do not claim slavery under the Constitution. We hold slavery by virtue of our municipal laws.

Mr. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, said that, when his country was at war, he would not stop to inquire into its merits. As to the cause of the



war, it must be sought in the annexation of Texas. What disasters, what feuds, has that step caused us!

Mr. Tibbatts, of Kentucky, followed in a moderate speech in support of the Bill. On the slavery question Mr. T. defined his position briefly as that occupied by the Southern men generally. He said the question of slavery introduced upon this subject made it necessary to terminate this war at once.

The Bill was then read a third time.

The Bill which Mr. Preston King (Dem.) sought to introduce in the House, omitting the preamble, was in the following words:—

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:—That the sum of thirty thousand dollars be, and the same hereby is appropriated out of any money in the treasury, not otherwise appropriated, to enable the President to enter upon negotiations for the restoration of peace with Mexico whenever it shall be in his power to do so.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory which shall hereafter be acquired by, or annexed to the United States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided, always, that any person escaping into the same from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed out of said territory to the person claiming his or her labour or service.

Sec. 3.—And be it further enacted, That the sum of two millions of dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, to enable the President to conclude a treaty of peace with the republic of Mexico, when he shall call for the expenditure of the same, or any part thereof, full and accurate accounts of which expenditure shall be by him transmitted to Congress at as early a day as possible.

On the motion to postpone the special order to allow the introduction of this Bill the yeas and nays were as follows—yeas 88, nays 89.

#### OREGON.—THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

The disturbing question meets them at every turn in Congress. It is contended by one party, that slavery shall be excluded north of the line, 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, a boundary with which the South is by no means satisfied.

The last amendment offered to the Bill, was that of Mr. Burt, of South Carolina, which extended the line of the Missouri compromise to the Pacific, and provided that all south of it (36 deg. 30 min.) should be slave, and all north of it, free states. It was defeated by a vote of 113 nays, to 82 yeas. Every Southern member voted *yea* of course; and with the exception of STEPHEN S. DOUGLASS, of Illinois; S. CLINTON HASTINGS, of Iowa; CHARLES J. INGERSOLL, of Pa.; SHEPHERD LEFFLER, of Iowa; and ROBERT SMITH, of Illinois, *all the Northern delegation voted nay!* This is hopeful. The question then recurring on the passage of the Bill, a long and very interesting debate took place in the House, occasioned by the rejection of Mr. BURT's amendment.

Mr. PETIT, of Indiana, followed in reply to Mr. BURT. He corrected him in his statements with regard to Indiana. He proceeded to denounce slavery as a curse, enervating and impoverishing a state, and avowed his fixed resolve never to vote for one rood more territory, if the foot of a slave was to press its soil. Threats of the dissolution of the Union he despised. The South would not dissolve the Union for two reasons:—1st, she could not do it; 2dly, she did not want to do it: but, if they would dissolve the Union because, at this age of the world, Congress would not tolerate slavery upon free territory newly acquired, he would say let her go.

Mr. LEAKE, of Virginia, rose, and complained that the House seemed to be converted into a magnificent abolition society, and expressed his fears that the Abolitionists, after laying their profane hands on the altars of religion, and the halls of legislation, would next assail the bulwarks of the Constitution itself, and break in like an avalanche on the peace and security of the entire South. He was sick and tired of compromises: the South had entered into many, and they had all been violated. He considered the vote of this morning as an indication that the Missouri compromise was considered as no longer of any obligation, and an intimation that the institutions of the South were no longer to be respected. He then went on to state what he considered as the ultimatum of the South, which amounted to this, that if the present attempt to impose limitations with respect to the extension of slavery should be persisted in, and should prevail, the South must stand in self-defence, for they could not and would not submit to it.

Mr. RHETT, of South Carolina, followed. He referred to the scene witnessed in that hall some eight or nine years ago; when the question of slavery, being discussed by a Northern member, the Southern members at his call, had taken their hats and left the house in a body. Had they maintained their ground then, all the present difficulty would have been avoided; but then our councils were distracted—they did not harmonise—and from that date, the South, on this floor, has been going back.

He then reviewed the proceedings of Congress touching the question of slavery, and came to the conclusion that this question was no longer to be evaded. If it were possible to save the Union at all, it must be done speedily.

#### PROCEEDINGS IN MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.

The legislature of Massachusetts, on the motion of Mr. Seaver, of Boston, have given leave to introduce the following resolutions;—

“Resolved,—That in the opinion of this legislature the whole people of this commonwealth are most strongly and decidedly opposed to any further extension of slavery or involuntary servitude within any of the states or territories of this Union, and to its existence within any new territory that may be hereafter acquired by the United States.

“Resolved,—That his Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing resolution to the senators and representatives of the Congress of the United States for this commonwealth, and to the governors of the several states of the Union.”

Leave having been granted, the resolves were read and referred to the special committee on so much of the Governor's message as relates to slavery, and the admission of slave states.

Similar resolutions have been proposed by the respective legislatures of New York and Pennsylvania.

#### ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

(From a Correspondent.)

ON THE PROSPECT OF OBTAINING FREE-LABOUR COTTON, &c.

Monkton, Vermont, (U.S.) 11 Mo. 4th, 1846.

I am now returning from a short journey through a part of Virginia, principally as companion to a ministering Friend, on a religious visit to some of our brotherhood in that state, and Maryland; and partly with a view to ascertain, by actual observation, the nature of the relation that might exist between the anti-slavery portion of society, and that department of slavery which is located in these states; also, what might be the prospect of anti-slavery friends of the North, and elsewhere, procuring articles of general consumption which had been raised by free labour, which are generally raised through the instrumentality of slaves. And although circumstances occurred which prevented me from obtaining all the information that I wished, yet I could not close my eyes to all the signs which a slave-holding state holds out.

In the south-eastern counties, Isle of Wight, Southampton, and Nancemonde, I found Friends who occasionally raised a little Indigo for their own use; also, cotton and rice to a very limited extent. From the best information that I could get, the climate, but more particularly the soil, is not well suited to the growth of cotton, to a great extent, at the current rate of prices; although some thought that, if they could obtain about ten cents per pound for it, they could afford to go into the raising of it. Many patches were to be seen in their white dress, and unstained by slavery's immediate touch, which were designed to be prepared in the domestic way for family use, for knitting and sewing; the spinning being done on a wheel similar to that used for spinning wool.

Upon further inquiry, I was informed that it was probable that free cotton could be raised to more advantage in Friends' settlement in Carolinas. This, of course, is reasonable; I am not in the possession of any information that I can rely upon in relation to that, but I am very sanguine in my hopes, that if the friends and patrons of this movement would be willing to pay an additional five cents per pound, equal to one cent per yard on the manufactured cloth, a considerable quantity might, after awhile, be obtained, upon which the fullest reliance might be placed as strictly “free labour.” I have seen several small patches of free-labour rice growing in Virginia this fall. The people seemed eager to be engaged in the production of free-labour produce. There are many free people of colour who depend upon hiring out for a subsistence; their services, of course, could be secured if needed.

#### STATE OF THE COOLIES IN BRITISH GUIANA.

THE following communication to the editor of *Emery's Journal*, is from the pen of Mr. Ebenezer Davies, minister of the Mission Chapel at New Amsterdam:—

“New Amsterdam, December 7, 1846.

“His Honor the Sheriff of Berbice.

“SIR,—I had often been told that it was not by any means uncommon to see large numbers of poor Coolies lying all night on some of the hard and uncovered stellings of New Amsterdam. This, I was unwilling to believe, until Saturday night last, I had ocular evidence of the fact. Arriving at the opposite ferry by the overland mail, I was landed at the south public stelling, on the town side of the river, a little before 10 p.m. On that stelling there were about a dozen Coolies, some nearly naked, and others wrapped up in filthy rags, making the bare stelling their bed and their pillow, exposed to the beams of a tropical moon, and to all the pouring showers of a rainy season. My poor heart sickened at the sight, and I resolved, thus to call your Honour's attention to the case; being persuaded that, if it be at all in your official power to alleviate such



misery, and to provide a shelter for these emaciated and homeless poor, it will be promptly done. How many of similarly wretched objects there were on the other stappings, I had no opportunity of ascertaining.

"I remain, Sir,

"Yours very respectfully,

"EBENEZER DAVIES."

Three days passed over, and no reply! On the fourth day, the 11th inst., I addressed him again, and enclosed a duplicate of the preceding note; since then, five days more have elapsed, but no reply.

"New Amsterdam, December, 11, 1846.

"His Honor C. R. Whinfield, Sheriff.

"SIR,—On the 7th instant, I respectfully called your Honor's attention to the wretched state of the expatriated Coolies in this town. To that communication I have not yet been favoured with any reply. Lest the letter should have been mislaid, I take the liberty of sending a duplicate, and

"Remain, Sir,

"Yours very respectfully

"EBENEZER DAVIES,"

Minister of Mission Chapel.

Now, in this matter, notwithstanding the apparent want of courtesy, in not even acknowledging the receipt of my communications, I am very far from blaming the sheriff, who is I believe, a humane man, and quite disposed to do all in his power for the comfort of the Coolie immigrants.

Since the Saturday in question, I have been more diligent in my inquiries relative to the destitution and sufferings of these victims of cupidity and misrepresentation. Fearful are the facts I have ascertained. They are enough to cause humanity to "blush, retire, and weep." They are such as cannot be gainsayed. No blustering cry of "mendacity," "falsehood," "impudent misrepresentations," &c., &c., can do away with them. They are such as can be substantiated (alas! but too well) before any suitable tribunal. Let the infatuated advocates of Coolie immigration pause in their cruel and reckless career, ere it be too late. Their present course will most assuredly bring speedy and complete ruin upon themselves and the whole country. We shall perhaps be told, that all is done for them that can be done; that all the hospitals are full, &c. This I believe to be the case. We shall also be told, that immediately on arrival, they are located on estates, and that those living skeletons we see about the streets, are such as have been on estates, and have left them. Granted. But why did they leave? If on estates the labourers enjoy such a Paradise as is generally and glaringly described, strange they should abandon abundance and ease for poverty and want! The truth is, and we defy the pro-immigrationists to deny it, the Coolies find their condition and prospects on estates so very different from the charming picture, by which they were allured from their country and their kindred, that they are unmanned and sickened. Their hopes are blasted. Their eyes are suddenly opened to the "mockery, the delusion, and the snare," of which they are the helpless victims. In disgust and despair they turn and wander about, their indecent and emaciated forms meeting the eye in every direction. I blame not individual planters. Many of them, I have reason to believe, have done all that under the circumstances could be done for the Coolies' comfort. I blame the system and its promoters. The horrors I have referred to are inseparably connected with it.

But what business have you to import more disease and poverty than you can do with? They turn the whole country into a "charnel-house!" Why enrich your soil with such a costly manure as human carcasses from another hemisphere? Never, surely, did such a combination of madness and cruelty before exist among men.

E. D.

#### COOLIE IDOLATRY IN BERBICE.

The following remarks are also from the pen of Mr. Ebenezer Davies, and were addressed to the Editor of *Emery's Journal*.

On the 28th ult., I gave you some account of Coolie exhibitions in Berbice. Before I quit for a few weeks the shores of Guiana, I am anxious to give you a little further information on the subject. Every day, the characteristic features of Coolie immigration are becoming more and more distinct and prominent.

On Tuesday, the 29th of December, as I was setting off to the court-house of New Amsterdam, I saw again the Coolie procession come from Mr. Laing's estate towards the town. In my way I met it, and had a full view of all that was going on. The car, or "temple"—as I found it generally called—was borne on men's shoulders as before. The number of dancers, or fencers, was greater than on the previous evening. Naked cutlasses in abundance were brandished about. Showers of rice were ever and anon thrown against the car as an offering to the gods! Every few rods the car was stopped, and the heathen absurdities performed as on the previous night. A Coolie, in the garb of a policeman, having the initials "V. R." of our beloved Sovereign on his belt, was very active in keeping back the crowd, and securing a clear space for the performers. Is it come to this, thought I, that my virtuous and honoured Queen is, by a shameful desecration of her name, made to appear as the patron of idolatry in the public streets of a British colony! "For the Lord God

of Hosts," especially, I felt, "very jealous." Such an unusual exhibition at noon-day, attracted, of course, an immense crowd of people. The thoroughfare was completely obstructed. This obstruction I endured, being anxious to see the ceremony, until I got to the court-house. On my return, having occasion to drive along the Strand—the principal street for commerce and traffic—I found it blocked up as had been the other. After considerable delay, I ventured, at some risk and danger to myself and others, to drive past.

Contemplating the baneful influence which all this must have upon the Creole population, and especially the rising race, I resolved, in company with a friend, deeply interested in the cause of education, to go at once to the police-office, and make a representation on the subject. On arriving there, we were respectfully told that our statement must be made in writing, and materials for that purpose were kindly furnished us. Whilst this was being done, the sergeant, an excellent officer, expressed his high surprise that the Coolies should attempt another exhibition, after the policemen had taken away their drum on Saturday night. He at once despatched a man to go and see what they were doing, with orders, that if they were obstructing the thoroughfare, or dancing in the street, to disperse them. The man in a few minutes returned, and said the sheriff had given them leave to dance through the town! "Oh, no," replied the sergeant, "that cannot be. You must be mistaken. The sheriff may have given them leave to dance in Mr. Laing's yard, but not in the public streets."

By this time, our hurriedly written paper was ready, and the inspector himself had come in. The paper was handed to him, with an apology for the imperfect manner in which it was prepared; he received it very courteously, expressed his concurrence in the views we mainly took, and what further steps were taken in the matter I know not; but I have every reason to believe the inspector and his men were quite disposed to do their duty. Through the streets, however, the Coolie procession was allowed to parade and dance for several hours after this, a strong presumption that it was as the policeman reported, that the sheriff had given them leave!

The Coolies turned into Mr. Laing's yard, and there, I am told, their devotions were performed with peculiar solemnity. The high privilege, for seeking which my Creole friend had the night before been threatened with the loss of his head,—that of looking inside of the temple,—was granted to Mr. Laing. With uncovered head he was allowed to gaze upon the sacred shrine. The blessing of Budha will, doubtless, rest upon the head of Laing. Whether he presented any offering on the occasion I have not learnt.

The worthy sheriff, I am told, notwithstanding his high churchism, appeared to look upon the whole with a remarkable degree of complacency, and well he might, if the whole was under his special patronage. The sheriff is an old East India officer, and the affair altogether reminded him, I doubt not, of the scenes and ceremonies of bygone days, when British officers were compelled, on certain occasions, to do honour to idolatry. In this instance, he presented money, I am told, on a silver plate, to the votaries of superstition. Whether that money was an offering to the gods, or a contribution towards the expenses of the religious ceremony, my informants could not tell.

(Signed), EBENEZER DAVIES.

January 12th, 1847.

#### MAURITIUS—IMMIGRATION.

THE following instructive despatch from Sir Wm. Gomm to Lord Stanley, will show the great influence possessed by a few parties in that colony over the planters as a body. It will moreover show how it comes to pass, that a few merchants and money-lenders in England, have so great an influence with the Government as to control its legislation. The agency houses in Mauritius are the representatives of firms in this metropolis, who come in for the lion's share of the profits connected with sugar cultivation; no wonder that they are so anxious to increase immigration into Mauritius, when it costs them nothing but an application to the Government to support it.

"Copy of a Despatch from Governor Sir W. M. Gomm to Lord Stanley.

"Mauritius, 20 February, 1846.

"MY LORD,—I have the honour to forward the return specified at the close of my despatch, No. 35, of the 18th instant, comprising an enumeration of estates in the hands of agents, the produce, in round numbers, of the last year (1844-5) upon each estate, and the proportions in which these properties are parcelled out by the different houses; from which showing your Lordship will gather that one establishment alone monopolizes little short of one-third of the produce of the island, estimated for the season under review at eighty-five millions of pounds; that three of these engross considerably beyond one-half, and that scarcely four millions of the whole year's growth is found to be free from such connexion.

"I have proceeded to detail the terms upon which this crushing assistance is accorded in the despatch above referred to, but I find that I have



underrated the amount of sacrifice incurred by the party obliged, and I would here beg leave to be more explicit on this point. A commission house advancing money to a planter does so upon security of his estate and the crop thereof; therefore, the planter becomes bound to send all his sugars to his agent.

The following are the mercantile and commission charges generally considered fair in the transaction:—

9	per cent. interest on money advanced,
6	„ discount on sales of sugar,
5	„ commission for selling sugar,
2½	„ agency commission,
—½	„ brokerage,
1	„ for counting and paying money.

24 per cent.

The charges, therefore, upon a crop before an estate can begin to defray the real expenses of its growth and produce, and before any profit accrues towards liquidation, are 24 per cent.

Other charges there are on account of shipment, more fluctuating but always heavy; these are the fixed and inevitable burdens which press with intolerable weight upon the grower, though blessed with all the favour of seasons, and the liberal relief from duties extended by Her Majesty's Government, and which consign him to ruin under the additional infliction of drought or other seriously unfavourable contingencies; and this is the ground upon which the local mercantile requisitionists stand with regard to their clients the planters, while pleading the cause of these latter with the Government, and their own.

On all these accounts, I consider it not without reason that the title of the "Association" which I have reported to your Lordship, my having recently been called upon to attach my sanction to the formation of, "for the redress of grievances," should have been altered by the requisitionists from its original style of "the Planters' and Merchants'" to that of "the Merchants' and Planters' Association," in their later announcement.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

W. M. GOMM,

Lieut.-general.

Messrs. Chapman, and Co.,	Agents,	32	Estates,	26,300,000lbs.
„ Henry Adam, and Co.,	do.	28	„	13,370,000
„ Hunter, Arbuthnot, & Co.,	do.	13	„	12,300,000
„ H. Barlow, and Co.	do.	15	„	8,250,000
„ Truchez, T. Key, and Co.,	do.	13	„	6,550,000
„ R. Jack, and Co.,	do.	12	„	7,710,000
„ T. Barbé, Lorton, and Co.,	do.	13	„	6,450,000
		126		80,930,000

#### STEALING A WIFE—UNITED STATES.

AN INTERESTING CASE AND AN IMPORTANT DECISION.

Report of the case of the Commonwealth of Virginia *versus* Talbott, tried at the last term of the county court. Talbott was charged with the offence of carrying away his wife, Maria, the slave of Mrs. Russell, of Leesburg. The report is, that being obliged by the laws of Virginia to leave the State after his liberation, he wished to purchase his wife, but could not pay. He went to Ohio, returned after a few months, and made another effort at purchase. Disappointed, he left the State; and his wife disappeared about the same time. Both were some time after arrested in this city, and confined in jail, whence the woman was taken home by her mistress, and her husband, on demand of the Governor of Virginia, carried to Leesburg for trial. John Janney, R. P. Swann, and J. S. Carper, Esqrs., appeared for his defence.

The prosecuting attorney opened the case by reading the laws applicable to the offence of abducting slaves, and insisted upon their enforcement, for the security of "slave property." Mr. Swann, counsel for the defendant, after referring to the irritability of the public mind, reminded the court of the necessity of being free from the influence of prejudice in the administration of laws, "in themselves," he remarked, "abhorrent to the best feelings of our nature."

"This man has been united in holy wedlock to a woman, for whom he has evinced the strongest feelings of attachment. Although his skin wears a different hue from ours, we cannot doubt that the feelings of his heart are the same. Their vows have been registered in the chancery of Heaven; and shall we attempt to set the laws of man above the Divine law, by separating those whom God hath joined? 'The Ethiopian may not change his skin, nor the leopard his spots;' but if it were possible for the prisoner at the bar to step forth in the complexion and lineaments of the Anglo-Saxon race, there is not a man on that bench, nor in this assembly, who would not applaud the deed for which he now stands arraigned as

a felon. In stating these views, I would not be understood to desire the court to depart from the duty which devolves upon them as judges in this case; but as the prosecuting attorney has made a claim at your hands for justice towards the Commonwealth, we also have a claim for justice, not toward a soulless body like the Commonwealth, but toward that poor creature who has a heart beating within his body, and a soul that is capable of the tenderest emotions. This is a grave and important case—a case which interests the whole human family. It must be within the recollection of some now present, that the State of South Carolina was arraigned at the bar of public opinion for condemning a free man to be hung for attempting to carry off a slave woman to whom he was betrothed. The conduct of the judge in that case, and the character of the law, were denounced by Lord Brougham in the British Parliament, and the proud State of South Carolina had to employ in her defence the talents of her ablest sons."

The first witness called was Maria, the wife of the defendant. In reply to questions by Mr. Janney, she stated that she was married to the prisoner three years ago, in her mistress's house, with her consent, by the Rev. Mr. —. The prosecuting attorney then asked her who gave her the paper (purporting to be a certificate of freedom) she held in her hand! What follows we quote from the *Loudoun Chronicle*:

"This was immediately objected to by the prisoner's counsel, and J. S. Carper, Esq., addressed the court in an able argument in opposition to her testimony being received. He stated that it was a point well settled in law, that the testimony of husband and wife cannot be taken either for or against each other, because the law regards them as so identified in feeling and interest that their evidence cannot be relied upon. In this case, he thought, the objections to receiving her testimony were unusually strong. She not only stands related to the prisoner at the bar as his wife, but she is a slave, under the power and control of her mistress. Suppose that mistress should say to her, If you do not give evidence to convict your husband, I will sell you to the traders, and you will be carried to the Southern States. I do not say that the mistress would use such a threat, but we know it is in her power, and we know, too, how great is the dread these people have of being sold to the Southern traders. Taking these considerations into view, I trust the court will not allow her evidence to be taken. The prosecuting attorney objected to these views, and insisted that Maria was a good and competent witness against the prisoner. He said that it was a matter of every day's practice to admit the evidence of Negro women slaves against those they termed their husbands. Mr. Janney denied that it was, and said that, in the whole course of his practice, he had never known an instance. Mr. Harrison said the witness could not be considered the lawful wife of the prisoner, because she was a slave, and the law regards slaves not as persons, but as property. It would, he said, be manifestly absurd to recognise a relation of this kind which interferes with the legal rights of the master, and sets at nought all the provisions which are made for the security of his property. He took the position that there is no lawful marriage for slaves, and that they can make no contract that their owners may not annul, and referred to a case in *S. Cowan*, 397. His argument on this last point was ably answered by Mr. Janney, who took the ground that Maria was the lawful wife of the prisoner, married with the consent of her mistress, at her mistress's house, and with the implied consent of the prisoner's master—united in the bands of matrimony by a minister of the gospel; and he would repeat what had been said by his colleague in the opening of this case, that their marriage was registered in the chancery of Heaven. The opinion expressed by our opponent, that slaves cannot be married according to law, would tend to the general corruption of morals, and the most enormous abuses. Can it be possible that the whole coloured population of Virginia are living in a state of concubinage? No; it is the intention of the law to promote public morals, and not to degrade them. It is intended to throw a shield around innocence, and to punish only the perpetrators of crime. Maria is the lawful wife of the prisoner; and it is a point well established, that in a case like this, the testimony of a wife cannot be taken either for or against her husband. The reason is obvious: it would present so great an inducement to perjury that no court would be justifiable in subjecting a human being to so strong a temptation. The court decided to reject the witness, and she left the stand evidently much delighted." While we rejoice at the humanity of such a decision, we cannot see how it comports exactly with the slave-relation. It certainly assumes that the marriage relation between slaves is a legal one, and confers certain legal rights. Another witness being about to relate what Maria had said, the court decided that such evidence was not admissible.

A part of the evidence was amusing. The *Chronicle* says:

"The next witness called was a jet-black Negro, who appeared in some trepidation at the prospect before him.

Question. 'Will you tell us what you know about this case?' 'Yes, massa. As George Jones and me was gwyen long de road one mornen—it was very airy, jist daylight—we was gwyen out to chop wood. George say, Do you know Talbott and Maria gone away? I say, Yes.' Counsel, 'Stop; we don't want to hear anything about your talk with George Jones. What did you see?' 'I see a man dat mornen, and I say to



George'—'We have nothing to do with what you said to George. Tell us what you saw.' 'Well, massa, if you don't let me tell what George say, I can't tell nothen. I see a man comen into de road as we was gwyen long de road. I speak to him, and he no speak to me.' 'Who was the man? Was he Talbott?' 'I say to George, I think it was Talbott, but when he no speak to me, I don't know whether he was Talbott or not. Bein airy in the mornen, not fairly light, I could not tell whether it was a bleak man or a yellow man. Dat's all I know about it.' The witness was discharged."

The case was submitted to the court, without further argument; and the court, after a short consultation, *discharged the prisoner*, "which appeared," says the *Loudoun Chronicle*, "to give general satisfaction."

#### THE RANDOLPH SLAVES.

We have always supposed that Ohio, notwithstanding her black laws, and the outrages which have been committed in her territory on coloured people, had a large remnant who abhor her laws, and the deeds committed under them. The inhuman measure adopted to prevent the Randolph slaves from settling upon their property, caused a feeling of indignation in every generous bosom; but this event, barbarous as it was, is likely to result in their benefit. A correspondent of the *New York Observer*, writing from Piqua, Ohio, speaking of them, says:—

"When the mob spirit in an adjoining county prevented these unfortunate people settling on the lands purchased for their future homes, the citizens of this town and its vicinity took prompt and vigorous measures to relieve their wants, and promote their best interests. At present about two hundred have a home in different families, and are dispersed over the neighbourhood, engaged in useful labour, and generally doing very well.

Their inhuman treatment by the mob in Mercer County, and their repulsion from their lands, has been evidently overruled by Divine Providence for their good; God has caused the wrath of their enemies to promote their welfare. In Virginia these people had been chiefly employed in the culture of tobacco; they have but little experience and knowledge in the clearing of land, and the necessary labour to be performed in their expected homes.

At present, while engaged in the families of those citizens,—on their farms, and in their shops, they are preparing for future usefulness, and the occupancy of their lands when the way is opened.

I was exceedingly gratified to know the deep interest taken in these much-wronged people, particularly in their intellectual and spiritual welfare. When they arrived, about four hundred in number, few of them could read, they were deplorably ignorant. For their improvement a Sabbath-school has been organized, and about one hundred have participated in its advantages; they have generally made rapid progress, many of them are now able to read fluently. Such is their avidity to learn, that during the week days some of them carry their books with them to the place of labour, and whenever an opportunity is found they avail themselves of the instruction of kind friends, old and young. I found this deeply interesting school poorly supplied with books. This difficulty is now removed by a generous donation from the American Sabbath-school Union."

#### Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—OFFICIAL NOTICE.—The following notice was published in a Southern paper:—

"The undersigned has received instructions to publish for all British subjects that her Majesty's Government have come to the determination of prohibiting all British functionaries residing in slave-holding countries, from administering on the estates of deceased persons in cases in which slaves form a part of the property of the deceased.

"CHARLES DUNKEN WAKER,

"H. B. M. Consul for South and North Carolina."

"December 10, 1846.

How long will it be before the British Government will determine to have no "functionaries residing in slave-holding countries"? I hope not long. And I am strongly inclined to believe it will not be long.—*Free Labour Advocate*.

ENCOURAGING.—A public debate is in progress in Baltimore, on the question—*Whether the welfare of the State of Maryland would be promoted by the Abolition of Slavery*. The *Saturday Visiter*, the editor of which is a gallant defender of the cause of freedom, and is engaged in this debate, in giving the proceedings of an evening last week, says:—

"An interesting and encouraging incident was furnished by one of the debaters, who stated that he took part with the affirmative at the request of the chair, on the first evening, although his predilections were on the other side; but that, having subsequently carefully examined facts put in his possession, he was forced to conclude that the abolition of slavery was called for by Maryland's highest good! This acknowledgment was

received by the audience with demonstrations of lively interest, and was of course set down as a gain to the cause of truth and freedom."

The *Beaver Argus* gives the following account of the course of Mr. John Collins, of New Brighton, in reclaiming the "Kidnapped Children."

"He traced the boys through the interior of Virginia and Kentucky, to Louisville, where they were sold into slavery on the first of November, by a certain Dr. L. De Camp, who was known as a bar-keeper at the "Black Horse" tavern at Brady's Run. De Camp had left Louisville for St. Louis; and after sending the boys home under proper protection, Mr. Collins intended going on in pursuit of the Doctor, who is probably now under arrest, and will be brought here for trial. Mr. Collins writes that the citizens of Virginia and Kentucky, and especially the public authorities, showed him every attention, and gave him all possible aid, manifesting a lively sympathy for the success of his mission of humanity. Mr. C. himself is entitled to much credit for his persevering labours to reclaim these free-born children from all the wrongs of slavery."

SLAVEHOLDERS IN TROUBLE.—A meeting was recently held in St. Louis, attended by about two hundred persons, of which one hundred formed a committee, who passed the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the President of this association requests in the name of this meeting, the city authorities to adopt such ordinances as may be necessary to prevent Negroes from leaving the homes of their masters after dark, whether with or without permission of their owner or employer, and that proper signals be given in at least three points of the city, announcing the hour for Negroes to retire.

Resolved, That our fellow-citizens throughout the state, be requested to organize similar societies, and adopt like means with our own, for the more effectual protection of their slave population and their slave property, and the execution of laws against the abduction of slaves.

Resolved, That this meeting consider all "Negro preaching and Negro-teaching," dangerous to the happiness, quiet, and safety of our slave-population; in view of which, we earnestly request the city authorities to enact ordinances effectually to prevent the countenance of these evils.

THE OLD DOMINION.—The Governor of Virginia, in his annual message to the Legislature, makes the following proposition:—

I regard our free Negro population as one of our greatest evils, and to get rid of it as one of our highest duties. Great as may be the apparent difficulty of accomplishing this desirable measure, it would dwindle into insignificance, under a bold and decided treatment. But all I now propose is the passing of a law providing that each county, at our next annual election, shall have the right to vote upon the question of removing the free Negroes, within their respective limits, beyond the Commonwealth—that all counties voting affirmatively shall communicate the fact to the executive, who shall be required to remove the free Negroes within such counties after six or twelve months' notice; and that such population shall not thereafter be permitted to reside therein.

This is one of the fruits of the recent retrocession of a portion of the district by Congress. We understand that the movement has been foreseen and feared by some of the free-coloured people of Virginia.

SINGAPORE.—The second session of Oyer and Terminer was opened at Singapore on the 10th of December. The *Free Press* gives the Recorder's charge to the grand jury; but neither in that paper nor its competitor, is any account of the trials to be found. Yet one of them, at least, must have possessed interest. It was an indictment for slave-dealing. The Recorder stated:—"It was not necessary to constitute the crime, that the woman should have been offered for sale in Singapore; it was sufficient if, from the evidence, it appeared that she had been brought there with the purpose of being treated as a slave."—*Daily News*, 26th Feb. 1847.

#### Colonial Intelligence.

BRITISH GUIANA.—The *Coolie and Portuguese Immigrants*.—Since we penned our last packet summary the principal event that has occurred of importance to this colony, or of interest to our distant readers, is the arrival in Berbice of a fresh batch of 250 Coolie immigrants, by the *Martin Luther*. Several cases of violent small-pox were on board when this vessel arrived here. Well would it be for the colony, and for the deluded, ill-fated victims themselves, if a stop could be at once put upon any further importation. This is now the view entertained of the Coolie speculation by hundreds, who once hoped much from Indian immigration. Our merchants, with two or three interested exceptions, are grumbling at the ruinous expenditure connected with the immigration scheme, and at finding, that in proportion as Coolie immigrants have been brought into the colony, trade has declined. Sales have been fewer, and returns smaller during the past year, 1846, than at any former period. The full amount of sufferings and death amongst both Coolie and Portuguese immigrants cannot be exactly ascertained, for efforts are made to conceal such fearful facts as form the strongest condemnation of the whole affair. The



labourers from India and Madeira are dying fast, and in large numbers, in some cases, from sheer neglect, in others, where attention is bestowed upon them, from disease that baffles the skill of our medical men. The country, indeed, does not agree with them, and Guiana is to the deluded immigrants, emphatically, a land of death.

In Berbice, the Coolies, we learn, have been celebrating their Christmas holidays, by gaudy processions, carrying a temple, and some of their gods. *These idols they fed with beef and rice* in the public streets of New Amsterdam. How far these public performances of idolatrous rites are likely to promote the piety and morality of our Creole labourers, we leave our great men to explain. We blame not the poor idolators, they have as much right to their religious opinions as we have to ours; but we deprecate the wholesale introduction of Pagans and Pagan rites, at the public expense, amongst the Creole population.—*Emery's Journal*.

**TRINIDAD.—Immigration.**—Every inhabitant should be apprised of the alarming fact, that the colony is being rapidly beggared, if it be not already bankrupt, by uncalled for, unjust, forced, and cruel immigration. Religion, humanity, and mercantile policy, unitedly condemn and denounce the current system of immigration. It is grossly wrong in principle, and revolting in results. Our labourers are heavily taxed for the purpose of reducing the price of their labour, nay rather, of securing their services at the lowest rate that the law of want will dictate. Such is the intention and effect of the Trinidad Immigration Ordinance. Is labour needed in our island? We answer fearlessly and indignantly—No. The available patches of the colony are more than supplied with labourers. We have made inquiry, and we hear not of a single estate where the people are paid and rationally treated, that does not possess abundance of labourers. To our certain knowledge, some estates have to refuse labour even when offered. It is becoming an absolute favour to get work on an estate that pays the wages promised, and is managed by a principled and civil man. There are managers, and their name is legion, that a dog would not serve, if he could run away. It is downright robbery, madness, and indirect murder, to crowd labourers on our island in present circumstances. The mercenary wrong done the community by the Immigration Ordinance, dwindles into insignificance compared with the wretchedness endured by immigrants. As might be expected many are afflicted with sickness. With few exceptions, no care is taken of the sick; they are left to live or die as chance may dictate. It is reported that, even on the estate of an *honourable man*, rations are denied children while the working parent is sick. Of the number of deaths there is no record. But it may well be asked, where are the thousands that have been bribed and brought to our shores during the last eight years? Comparatively few are to be found; many have left, and more have been *emancipated by death*. Our extensive and fertile plains will, ere long, assume an undulating aspect in consequence of the *tumuli* (graves) of immigrants. This is hyperbole, but it implies a fact of sad and solemn character. Let them mark the infirm and destitute immigrants that are daily to be met with in our streets and highways; and let them visit the hovels in town and country, inhabited by immigrants, and feast their eyes on the monster twins, sickness and want, which they have purchased and paid for from the public funds.—*Trinidad Spectator*, 13th Jan.

**COOLIE IMMIGRATION.**—It seems likely that this colony will be unable to raise a loan for promoting immigration. At a special meeting of the Legislative Council, held on the 29th ult., a despatch from the Secretary of State was laid before the board, in which Earl Grey intimates that the restrictions alluded to in his previous despatch are not the only difficulties, but that it is exceedingly doubtful whether the loan can be raised at all under the usury laws of Great Britain. The Council was therefore required to provide in some other way for the expenses already incurred by Government for Coolie immigration. The Governor was immediately empowered to draw upon the deposit chest, by way of loan, for 35,000*l.*, the amount of those expenses. The Council had, prior to the arrival of the despatch, passed an ordinance to remove the restrictions in the original loan ordinance; but on that occasion, according to the *Standard*, "the feeling of the board appeared to be in favour of a reconsideration of the whole question of Coolie immigration, whether in fact, it would or would not be expedient to continue it on the present system." The amount which the amended ordinance authorized to be raised for the ensuing year was 50,000*l.* The number of Coolies applied for is stated at 2,500; while double that number are expected.

**ARRIVAL OF COOLIES.**—Between two and three hundred Coolies arrived on Saturday last, by the ship *Duke of Portland*. They are a fine healthy-looking people, but a little too slender in build for the rough heavy work on sugar estates. We understand they are full of the idea of getting back to India, when their term of servitude expires. Such a hope may help to lighten their labour, and mitigate their impending woes; but we fear few of them will ever again see their native land. Before five years are numbered to the calendar, many will have found a grave in mould

of our island, already enriched by the remains of exotics. Those who survive and wish to return to their fatherland, will be left, we fear, to their own resources, as long ere that time, if things proceed as at present, the colony will be bankrupt by immigration which has already reduced it to beggary.

**ST. LUCIA.—Slaves picked up at Sea.**—We have received information, which we think it of high importance should receive immediate publicity, that a British vessel, the schooner *May-Flower*, Captain Abbott, when about six leagues to the westward of St. Vincent, fell in with a large canoe (*gabarre*) containing a number of persons, among whom were eleven slaves and their owner, a Mr. Borel. It appears that the boat was destined from some part of the Martinique coast to the port of St. Pierre, and that it had drifted thus far from the force of the weather. A bargain was struck between Mr. Borel and Captain Abbott, for a certain amount to take him and his people back to Martinique. This was accordingly done; and the poor Negroes, after sniffing the air of a free latitude, have been reduced again to slavery. We should like to know how this will read, as regards Captain Abbott, in juxtaposition with the navigation laws under which he is permitted to sail his vessel.—*Palladium*, Jan. 16th.

### Miscellanea.

The *Growler* steamer, at Deptford, is fitting for special service on the coast of Africa. She is intended to be sent to Sierra Leone, with one or two Government agents, who will be authorized to enter volunteer Kroomen, with their wives and children, to work as free labourers in the West Indies.

A letter from the Cape, dated Simon's Bay, December 5, says:—"On the 27th of November a very fine bark, under Brazilian colours, arrived here as a prize to the *Cleopatra*, 26, fitted with slave-decks, coppers and shackles on board, but no slaves; she had just arrived on the coast from Rio; they took her at the end of the Mozambique Channel, and, the day after, the *Cleopatra* arrived herself, very sickly, more than forty men on the sick list, and had lost two; two more died on the 30th, and several others cannot get over it; their malady is dysentery, which they got at Zanzibar. She will start for England very soon now, but as the *Brilliant* has got one of her lieutenants, master, and two prize crews on board, I suppose she will remain until her return."

**A PROBLEM FOR THE AMERICAN CHURCHES.**—During fifty years of missionary labour, four hundred thousand Pagans have been gathered into the folds of Christianity, under the preaching of American missionaries. The average increase of slaves in their own country is about seventy thousand a year, whom to teach to read the Bible is a penal offence. Now, if eight thousand Pagans are annually evangelized abroad, and seventy thousand native Americans heathenized at home, required the time "when the knowledge of God shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea."

### DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

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